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Edward P. Powers

HISTORY

OF THE

INDIAN WARS

WITH THE

FIRST SETTLERS OF THE UNITED STATES,

PARTICULARLY

IN NEW-ENGLAND.

Sanders, Daniel Clarke, 1768-1850

WRITTEN IN VERMONT.

Historia vero testis temporum, lux veritatis,
vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis.
CIC. DE OR.

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TO WIT.

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“A history of the Indian Wars with the first settlers of the United States, particularly in New-England. Written in Vermont. *Historia vero testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis.* CIC. DE OR.”

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A HISTORY OF THE INDIAN WARS.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of the name, "Indian." The first interview between the Europeans and the Indians. The first hostilities. Spaniards licentious. Savages resist oppression. Battle. Effects. Indians taxed. Their plan to destroy the Spaniards. Cruelties in Mexico and Peru. Improvements of the natives.

THE name of Indian was given the original natives of America on account of the general expectation entertained by the first discoverers of the new world, that San Salvador, one of the Bahama islands, at which they first arrived, was connected with others in succession, affording a passage to *India*, with which country the Europeans had been long acquainted.

It was not the idea of discovering a new continent so much as the hope of finding a passage to the riches of the East-Indies, much nearer and less hazardous than by doubling the cape of Good Hope, which induced those adventurers, allured by the

prospects of gain more than actuated by the spirit of enterprize, to explore the untraversed regions of the west. When they had reached a country of a similar latitude, appearance, temperature and soil, supposing they had gained the object so long sought and of such vast commercial importance, they called the country, "*the West Indies*," and the inhabitants, "*Indians*." The subsequent detection of the error of that opinion has led to no change of the name, in which posterity felt as little concern as they did interest.

The first interview, on the 12th of October, 1492, between the Europeans and the natives was peculiarly interesting to both. Columbus was destined to be the first man from the eastern continent, who should set his foot upon the western. The rich dress in which he landed, the glittering sword he held drawn in his hand, the crucifix the Spaniards erected, the rapturous emotions with which they chanted, "*Te Deum*," the whiteness of the European complexions, the novelty of their arms, the vast machines in which they seemed to fly across the boundless ocean, joined with the thunders of the cannon, the lightnings of the flashes, and the smoke which set the whole sky into wild commotions, all was calculated to confirm in the minds of the astonished natives the impressions they first entertained, that the Europeans were a higher order of beings,

"the children of the sun." Attracted by a scene so novel, the natives assembled in crowds to behold it. They were as unable to comprehend what their senses perceived, as to foresee the consequences of the approach of the strangers, which was soon to become fatal to them.

The first acts of intercourse were just and friendly. The natives, living beneath a sun nearly vertical, appeared in the simple innocence of nature, entirely naked. Although they were persons of regular shapes and of great activity, still the redness of their complexions, the singularity of their features, with their faces and bodies painted in a fantastical manner, made them appear a race of men very different from all the nations and tribes of the east. They were at first timid, but mild treatment soon dissipated every degree of suspicion, leaving them friendly and familiar. With the emotions of transport, they readily exchanged provisions, cotton yarn, fruits and whatever they had to barter, for the glass beads, nails and trinkets which were offered them by the Spaniards. There is every probability, that the continuance of the same kindness, humanity and justice might easily have preserved and perpetuated the advantageous interchange of the same friendly offices.

This spirit of amity and moderation was of very short duration. The haughty

Spaniards, conscious of their own superiority, soon forgot the rights of justice, which were due to the weak and defenceless. No sooner had Columbus set sail for Spain, 4th January, 1493, than the garrison, consisting of 36 persons, instead of trading on terms of equity and conciliating the good will of the natives, as they had been directed, offered them every insult and outrage. They roamed as freebooters through the whole country. The gold, the women and the provisions of the natives became the prey of these licentious oppressors. There is a point of forbearance, beyond which human nature will not proceed. The increase of injuries already intolerable was enough to rouse even the timid and despairing to resistance, and to arm the hands of the weak with power. The event shewed how dangerous it is for tyranny, however powerful, to sport with the sufferings of the people. On the return of Columbus, not a single man of them remained.

In no respect instructed by this disaster, the best efforts of Columbus after his return were not sufficient to curb the licentiousness of his rapacious countrymen. While the least prospect of their ever leaving the island remained, the natives suffered in silence. But this hope being banished, when they saw that their oppressions were about to become as durable as they were already intolerable, a spirit of rage was manifested

by them, of which their gentle natures had not before seemed susceptible.

United by the sufferings they felt as well as by those they feared, they waited only a favorable opportunity, in order to take the most ample revenge. At all hazards, they were resolved to rid themselves of invaders, who were as cruel as they were lawless, whose thirst for gold no mines could satisfy, whose lust refrained from no object of desire, and whose want of justice left no rights sacred.

Columbus, hitherto humane and equitable, now saw with regret the crisis approaching. It was too late to rectify the wrongs which were past, or to calm the storm which was already raised. The necessity of self-defence left for him no choice. Both sides flew to arms. The vast multitudes of the natives seemed to compensate for their want of arms, and fury would minister force. They brought 100,000 men into the field of battle. Instead of drawing their enemy into woods and mountains, without any policy or stratagem, they fought counsel from valor, taking their station in the most open plain in all the country.

The Spaniards were reduced to 200 men. Besides these, however, they had 20 cavalry. The natives, having never before seen horses, at first sight, it is said, considered them as rational creatures and the horse and rider as one animal. A number of the fier-

cest dogs brought over from Europe, though not usually reckoned among military forces, were still calculated to carry terror and consternation and disorder among such a timid and naked people, who would be prone to join imaginary with real fears by not knowing as yet with what they had to contend.

The unequal conflict was not long doubtful ; and the arts of civilization gained a complete triumph over physical strength. The noise of battle, the havoc of fire arms, the swiftness of the horses, the fury of the dogs, and the novelty as well as the terror of the scene could not fail to fill the Indians with dismay. Their native courage being found useless, their arms well nigh fell out of their hands, and they perceived that all was lost.

Multitudes were slain, more taken prisoners and reduced to slavery, which to a savage is worse than either torture or death. Despair succeeded. To the most entire liberty they had always been accustomed ; and from labor they were peculiarly averse. Upon such as were above the age of fourteen years a severe tax was imposed. In districts where gold abounded, they were compelled to pay quarterly as much of gold dust as would fill a hawk's bill ; in others, 25 pounds of cotton were required. These exactions only paved the way to others more oppressive.

The intrigues carried on in the court of

Ferdinand and Isabella against Columbus were supposed to have been among the motives, which induced him to depart so widely from his mild system of managing the natives. He expected by sending home immense riches to satisfy his personal enemies in Spain, who seemed busy to destroy his power and discredit his administration, as having a direct tendency among various other evils to drain men and wealth from the mother country, without any equivalent in return, or one equal to their avarice.

In such an unequal conflict, the natives perceiving their power to be weakness, had resort to an expedient, which, altho it involved themselves in the greatest sufferings, they hoped, would prove fatal to the invaders. This was no other than to suspend all agricultural labor, to plant no maize, to pull up the manioc, to retire to inaccessible mountains and to leave nothing to their enemies but uncultivated plains.

The Spaniards, although reduced to want, yet in addition to some very seasonable supplies from Europe, found other resources in their own ingenuity and industry. To the Indians this ill concerted policy proved much more pernicious. Shut up among barren mountains, with minds in despair and bodies wasted by famine, contagious diseases did the rest of the work of destruction. In a few months, more than one third part of those many hundreds of thou-

sands of people perished. Wherever the Europeans went, destruction spread before them, and the Indians on those islands are now known by little more than the name.

In other parts of America, the Europeans had less regard to the laws of humanity and the acknowledged rules of right. At their approach, every thing withered up and perished, as before a pestilence. Slaughter and rapine marked the road they took. A paradise with its thousand blooming sweets, which no mischievous spirit till now had entered, was changed into a barren desert, and in it too was placed the flaming sword, but no cherubim of mercy were there.

The innocent natives, like lambs for the slaughter, could only stamp defiance. They stood up indeed in their own defence with hearts of valor, but with hands ill armed. They could effect little with men who employed all the means derived from the skill and arts of civilized life.

The most horrid scenes of injustice, cruelty and crimes of every grade, "*enough to make the angels weep,*" were exhibited in Mexico and Peru under the conduct of Cortes and Pizarro, the conquerors of those two renowned kingdoms. These nations had approached the state of civilization. The eyes of the Spanish adventurers beheld their golden vessels and their great wealth, and their defenceless owners were soon removed

out of the way of insatiable avarice. Millions were miserably destroyed in all the various frightful forms, in which death ever comes to wretched mortals. Volumes would be incompetent to describe fully the dreadful effects of the avarice, the injustice and the cruelty of the Spaniards, nor be able to represent the losses, the sufferings and the ruin of the natives. The latter exhibited more of the virtues of christians, while the former merited the name as they imitated the barbarous conduct of the worst of savages.

The character of Indians is as different as the varieties of climate. In the more southern regions, where the Europeans first landed, and where the conquests were first made, the natives were mild and friendly. Nothing could change their gentle tempers but a series of abuses. In Mexico and Peru were the greatest improvements. There, immense multitudes of people crowded their villages and filled their fields. Countries of great extent were connected together under one regular plan of government and system of laws. Cities with an astonishing population were to be seen, full of splendor and riches, of order and ornaments. Rulers were well informed, and felt paternal regards for their people, being constantly employed in rendering them secure, prosperous and happy. The empire of laws was, in some measure, established.

The authority of religion was recognized, and its beneficial influences widely extended. The arts essential to life received attention, and the dawn of what is ornamental began to appear. They knew how to make use of visible signs for ideas, and a few steps more would have led them to the invention of alphabetical writing. Morals were respected, and their parental instructions were worthy of Greece or Rome. The growing arts must soon have led to the cultivation of the sciences, between which there is a near affinity and an inseparable connexion. Gold and silver vessels were uncommonly numerous, and they began to enjoy the elegances of life. Iron, without which barbarous nations must in a great degree continue such, and a refined people soon become barbarous, was with them, as with all savages, the great desideratum, destitute of which most valuable of all metallic substances, nature soon puts her veto on all human improvement, saying, "*hitherto shalt thou go, and no further.*" At least, their prosperity was already great, and daily increasing, when the "*cruel spoiler came*" with all their woes and ruin in his train.

CHAPTER II.

New England discovered. Middle sections of America fertile. Soil of New England poor. Colonies fail. Settlements difficult. Persecution. Reformation in England. Puritans. Emigrate to Holland. Afterwards to America. Government established. Treachery to the natives. Pestilence. English attacked. Sicknefs. First engagement with the natives.

THE West-Indies and the continent of America had not long been known to the Europeans, before New-England was discovered. Seeking a passage from England to China by a nearer and safer route, John Cabot came to Labrador, proceeded to the 47th degree of north latitude, and on his return traversed along the coast to Newfoundland and New-England as far as to East Florida. But although New-England was discovered in the summer of 1497, yet 123 years rolled away before any actual settlement was effected.

This section of North America was revisited in 1605 by capt. Weymouth, who was also in search of the supposed and long sought passage to India. He entered one of the largest rivers in the province of Maine,

where he discovered a number of the natives. He carried 5 of them with him to England.

While the settlement of the middle and southern states proceeded with great success by the influx of Europeans, after several of the first unsuccessful attempts, adventurers being determined on a sudden accumulation of wealth, and filled with golden dreams which are seldom realized, that of New-England was destined to advance with a slower pace. The West-Indian isles were overflowing sources of easy as well as of inexhaustible wealth. Rich in soil, interrupted by no wintry cold, with a harvest ever ready, they yielded productions suited to the taste of the luxurious, as well as useful to every class of men. These opened new sources of trade, awakened the spirit of enterprise and offered great rewards to the adventurer. The gold and silver mines of Mexico and Peru, with rivers running over golden sands, and with coasts and countries abounding in whatever is deemed most valuable among men of the world, were inviting objects, which neither curiosity could despise, nor avarice easily resist.

But New-England held out no such splendid objects of temptation. Its soil on the sea coast is broken, rocky and barren. Its first appearance must have been peculiarly uninviting to strangers in a strange land. The ground depended on the cultivator for

a richness not its own. Its climate is still more forbidding; since it could not be meliorated either by human ingenuity or industry.

As if to baffle the judgment of men, under all these natural disadvantages, New-England was destined to become, however uninviting at first, one of the brightest spots in America. It is a proof and a specimen, how much of knowledge, wealth and happiness may be produced by order, perseverance, salutary regulations and pious institutions. The middle regions of America are enriched by her natural productions and mines; but New-England by her arts, her sciences and her virtues. She aims to ascend from the mute elements of nature to act on the intellectual and moral system, which is so ennobling to man and so accordant with heaven. This can make a desert blossom, and convert a bleak and barren region almost into the primitive Eden of purity and enjoyment.

The Plymouth company sent out two ships in 1606, to make further discoveries. The favorable report they made induced a colony of 100 persons to settle the next year at the mouth of the Kennebec. But the severity of the winter following, the hardships incident to a new country, and a great loss of property disposed them to return to England the first opportunity. The grand

design of a plantation was therefore laid aside.

The English and the French, however, continued to make voyages to the coast, to procure fish, or to trade in furs with the natives. The planting of colonies was not then an object of much interest. The advantages, which commerce might derive from them, were not foreseen. The poor were incompetent to settling a new world, and the rich were well satisfied with the ease and the plenty of the old. Even whole corporations felt the expenses to be great and the prospects discouraging. Gorges and Mason, after having expended more than 160,000 dollars, quitted forever the design of a settlement in New-England.

In a removal to this country, many things were forbidding. The distance from relations, the fears of crossing the wide Atlantic, the expenses of a settlement, the inevitable hardships of a new country, and vicinity to savages, added to the idea of the many social and religious connections which must be dissolved, all these considerations could not fail to create feelings, which were not easily to be overcome.

The objects of interest were few. The fur trade and the fisheries were the most lucrative. As for social enjoyments and sacred privileges, they were not yet in existence. Even in the more congenial regions of Virginia, they were as yet struggling for

life ; and many, having despaired of ever finding even comfort, had returned home. Colonies had failed as often as they had been attempted at first, while each new failure added to the former accumulated stock of despair. Nor did it appear, that human means would ever accomplish a design, which had so often been attempted in vain.

What individuals of great enterprise, what corporations with united wealth, and what a powerful nation by liberal patronage could not accomplish, it was reserved for religious zeal to effect. Great good was made to arise out of evil, and the settlement of New-England is owing to the effects of bigotry and persecution. Among the professing christians of that age, there was very little of that charity, which, being the essence of christian perfection, is greater than either faith or hope. They conducted as if intolerance and blind zeal constituted the spirit of their divine master. Had rancor and malice been duties towards those who differed in speculative opinions, they would have been the most exemplary and truly zealous disciples imaginable. Each sect denied to all others that liberty of conscience, which all had an equal right to enjoy.

A spirit for investigating religious subjects had been greatly increased by the reformation in England, in 1534. The vices of the clergy, the abuses of the proper author-

ity of religion, the arrogant claims of the popes, and the attempted subjugation both of the property and of the consciences of the people to the will and to the emoluments of the conductors of the church, at length opened the eyes of men. The dark ages of a thousand years were numbered with those which were past. Men began to think for themselves, and of course began to find out the truth. A flood of light, as well upon religious as upon literary subjects, was the natural consequence of free inquiry. Wickcliffe, Erasmus and Melancton were the lights of that memorable era. Luther and Calvin had daring spirits, and wrought still greater wonders, completing what had been so gloriously begun, till the system of aged errors was overturned, or at least received a wound, from which it was never to recover.

But every thing on earth approaching perfection is usually of short duration. At the close of the 16th century, the spirit of the reformation had begun to languish, and new errors had crept in, or old ones had revived. The more zealous saw that the work of reformation fell very far short of their wishes, as it did of their ideas of primitive purity. They abhorred every thing, which bore the least resemblance of the papal church. Nor could they rest easy, while they saw surplices, printed prayers, creeds, bishops, altars, and pompous ceremonies,

contrary to that simplicity which there is in Christ. The plainness of their own dress, the seriousness of their deportment, the piety of their conversation, their dislike of the inventions of men in religion, and their desire to promote "scripture purity," gave them the name of "Puritans," and from these descended the inhabitants of New-England.

As soon as men began to think for themselves, it was certain that different degrees of information would be productive of different shades of opinion. In every quarter, numerous denominations arose, all growing indeed out of one system of revelation, but diverse from each other in less essential points, or mere forms of godliness. Men, who do not think profoundly and still easily form attachments, often regard forms more than they do the essence of things. Zeal soon begot bigotry, and intolerance soon grew into persecution in proportion as it acquired power. The protestants deemed it genuine catholicism to separate from the church of Rome; but no sooner was their own power established than they deemed it damnable heresy to separate from the church of England. Cruelties were soon inflicted upon every class of separatists, and disabilities are continued down to the present day even in the most enlightened nation in Europe. They felt a reluctance that others should exercise that liberty of conscience,

which they wished to monopolize to themselves. They had discovered that, the church of Rome was not infallible, but their own was.

Happily, our national and state constitutions secure, as far as human writings go, our religious liberties with a magnanimous and christian liberality. But though guarded by even this palladium, yet were the church allied to the state and armed with its power, those who should dare think for themselves, not of the denomination protected by law and not of the sect of infallibility, would soon find out, whether they had the courage of martyrs. The present cry of heresy against the slightest shades of difference in those who exercise their understandings, not in cases which concern practical virtue, but merely in metaphysical speculations, and accompanied with still further menaces of excommunications which have become so common as to be little regarded, together with real disabilities and with the whole tremendous discharge of the artillery of slander from those who would claim exclusive orthodoxy for themselves, plainly shows what the weak must expect, while the standing order is aggrieved and St. Peter offended, as well as points out what disinterested benevolence would do, if it could, and who would be first to set fire to the faggots.

Such a train of abuse and persecution fol-

lewed the Puritans. The allegation against them was the separation from the established church, on account of the forms of popery which still remained in it. The kindled flame began to consume. The Puritans, as unbending as Mordecai, were forced to abandon their homes and quit their means of subsistence. Ridicule exercised its wit, and prisons exerted their power; but the force of religion still triumphed. When their own country, which should be the kind and equal parent of all, became a cruel monster, devouring her own children, they were resolved to leave it forever. Holland began to grow more liberal by the generous sentiments, which extensive commerce tends to cherish. After great trials and dangers, the Rev. Mr. Robinson, in 1610, with his congregation, removed to Amsterdam, and the next year to Leyden, where they remained ten years. This church, a lively image of the apostolic, enjoyed there rest and edification. At one time, it had 300 communicants. At length, the licentious manners of the Dutch spread like a contagion among the young, who entered the service of the Dutch army or navy. Their numbers were already diminished one half. They had reason to fear, that within a few years their posterity would be identified with strangers and their purer church become wholly extinct.

They resolved to move to America. Re-

ligion was still their motive. They saw the dangers of temptation which awaited their youth amidst great cities, amidst the splendor and the dissipation of Holland. The wilds of America offered no allurements ; and the destitution of all things would render the consolations of religion more acceptable, where there was little else to minister comforts. After a series of delays and disappointments, they reached Plymouth on the 11th of November, 1620. They had intended to enter Hudson's river, but the pilot had been hired to deceive them. All appeared bleak and barren ; but it was both too late and too dangerous to put to sea again with a view of going round the cape. The company consisted of 101 persons. They had escaped the perils of the sea, but new trials awaited them. There was no house for shelter, no home but a wilderness. Like Adam exiled from the happy Eden, "the world was all before them where to choose, and providence their guide."

They did not despair, since religion was both a guard and a comforter. No sooner had they stepped upon the rocky shore than they kneeled down to present the offering of thanksgiving to their Almighty Father, who had preserved them from the dangers which were past, and was their hope in those to come.

Religion is the friend of order. They

soon formed a civil compact, and selected John Carver to be the first governor of New-England. This civil compact received the signature of 38 persons only.

The few Europeans, who had before this period touched on these coasts, had done little more than to irritate and abuse the natives. Six years before the landing of our forefathers, one captain Hunt, destitute alike of humanity and justice, had decoyed into his ship and carried away into Spain 24 Indians, whom he sold as slaves. Regretment for this outrage and treachery, as well as for other enormous abuses, was still boiling within their veins.

Providence had removed dangers, which otherwise might have proved fatal. A severe pestilence had raged not long before with great mortality among the natives. By this means, joined with wars among themselves, nineteen out of twenty had perished. Of some tribes not one survived.

This disease was supposed to have been the yellow fever. At the very spot, where the first English pilgrims had landed at Plymouth, though formerly it had been very populous, every human being had died. Uncultivated fields, graves, relicts and bones confirmed this account. The savages ever afterwards seemed to perish before the approach of the christian pilgrims.

Before the Plymouth colony had arrived at New-England, it has been asserted, that

the natives had a prophecy prevailing among them, that some dreadful pestilence would destroy them, and that a remote nation from the east would come to take possession of their country. Even the terrific *Canonicus* seems to have yielded his faith to this prediction. The natives, however, imagined that their numbers were too great to be destroyed by any power, human or divine, according to the usual course of events. Their cruelty and impiety were the causes, which were to hasten the extinction of their race. Agreeably to the prophecy, the corrective hand of heaven was about to be lifted up to punish them for crimes which had been committed against the light of nature. A consciousness, even in *their* minds, of meriting such divine chastisements might have given either origin or credit to such a prediction.

The company had landed at Cape Cod, and had sent out 10 of their most resolute men to explore the adjacent country. At night, they returned, having seen no human creature but their own party. The next day was the sabbath, on which they rested. On Monday, the men went ashore to refresh themselves, and the women to wash, protected by a guard. On Wednesday, a company of 16 men proceeded to make further discoveries. About one mile from shore, they saw 5 Indians, who, having first seen them, fled. The party spent the night beside a pond of fresh water in Truro.

In the course of the day, they had found heaps of sand ; one of which was covered with old mats, and an earthen pot placed at one end. In digging, they discovered bows and arrows. They deemed it a grave, and every thing was replaced. In another pile of sand, 3 or 4 bushels of corn, or maize, were found. Tasting it in a raw state, they considered it of very little value. With some hesitation, they took away the vessels and a part of the corn, for which they afterwards made full satisfaction to the owner. The corn was placed in a well made basket. Afterwards they found a place fortified with palisadoes. One of the men was caught in a trap which the Indians had ingeniously set to take deer. Such corn as they could afterwards find, they carried to their shallop, since it was so incalculably necessary to the future harvest. They also saw several graves and two wigwams, but no Indian.

Perigrine White was the first born of New England, 19th Dec. 1620 ; and died in July, 1704, aged 84.

In the fourth expedition, 6th December, they saw 12 Indians, who betook themselves to instant flight. While the pilgrims were encamped in the woods during the night, they became alarmed by a suspicion that the Indians were near them. On the next morning, after their customary service of worship, there was a cry of " Indians ! In-

dians!" Horrid yells and showers of arrows followed. The report of guns, however, instantly frightened away the enemy. The arrows were found pointed with brads, deer's horns and the claws of eagles. These were sent to England, where they were considered as great curiosities.

Sickness, brought on by hardships, want, exposure and change of climate, began to prevail. Two or three of their number died in a day. At times, there were not 5 able to take care of the sick. Before the opening of the spring, 46 out of 101 were no more.

The landing of our forefathers has become a memorable era. The stone, upon which they first stepped, is still preserved in the centre of Plymouth village, and receives the homage of numerous visitors. Annually, "*the feast of pilgrims*" is held, and a religious discourse pronounced, after which the sons of the pilgrims, mindful of the circumstances of their fathers, partake of a repast, of which victims from the woods, fish, clams and groundnuts constitute a part.

Placed in the midst of savages, exemption from hostilities was not long to be expected. In circumnavigating the deep bay contiguous to Cape Cod, the party from Plymouth, consisting of 13 persons, of whom governor Carver was one, discovered, on the morning of the 23d December, a large body of Indians. They were busy in cutting up a

fish resembling a grampus. The English no sooner approached the shore than with a horrid yell the Indians left all and fled. The former feasted themselves with it, and found it excellent food. Continuing there during the night, they were suddenly attacked. Their guns also had been left in their boat at some distance. To retreat suddenly would betray fear, and encourage the savages. In this extremity, they dispatched two or three of their men for their arms, when in a close body and with a moderate march, they retreated to their boat. The Indians seeing this assumed new confidence, and being about to make an attack upon them in the rear with stones, clubs, hatchets and whatever their fury could minister, the English were compelled to oppose force by force. They fired, and about four of the savages fell. The enemy halted, viewed their bleeding brethren, and with a tremendous yell fled in a moment. This was the first engagement, a prelude of what was to follow, during some centuries.

CHAPTER III.

The Indians formidable. First settlers defenceless. Treaty with Massasoit. Narraganset war. Peace made with several tribes. Pocahontas. Massacre in Virginia. Plymouth fortified. Indian conspiracy defeated. Colony increased. New England peopled by persecution. Another conspiracy defeated. Capt. Standish. No general wars.

TO the early settlers in New-England the wars with the savages were of all events the most dreadful and alarming. Not only were the hearts of women and children affrighted, but also the minds of men the most courageous were appalled. The rumors of wars took away all thoughts both of safety and comfort. The art and secrecy with which their attacks were made, and the new species of barbarity with which they were waged, were enough to render the savages the most formidable foes. The first planters, few in number, and ignorant alike both of the residence and the multitudes of the barbarians, were always in fear, always in alarm, suffering many present evils, but apprehending still worse to come. By day, while their bodies were wasted by the pressures of want, sickness and labor, in

order to procure a scanty subsistence, their minds were tortured with the dread of sudden assaults, or fatal ambush. By night, the same frightful images lingered in their fancies, when the senses were sealed in sleep, and reason could not regulate the disturbed visions of minds, which brooded over the ideas of the tomahawk and scalping knife, of houses set in flames and near connections massacred, of midnight silence and sleep waked by the sound of the war whoop, and the dreadful picture of returnless captivity.

The little colony of Plymouth did not appear to possess the means of defence. They had not crossed the Atlantic with any idea of forcing their way by conquest and the sword. In numbers, they were but a family ; and the pestilence had destroyed nearly one half even of them ; while, wasted by the pale diseases, the rest had scarcely the shapes of men. At one period, there were not five persons with strength and health sufficient to make defence. By acts of justice and kindness alone they ever had expected to make their way in the new world. The Indians, on the contrary, were numerous ; and the bare idea of being ignorant of their numbers rendered them formidable. Disease had indeed carried off vast multitudes of them to the grave ; but still they swarmed in the wilderness. They filled the countries from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans ; and hundreds of thousands

were to be seen from the regions of the lakes of the north to the seas of the south. Had they known either their own physical strength, or final dangers from the Europeans, they might have swallowed them up in a moment. But the arm of the Almighty seemed to offer the christian pilgrims a sure protection; and, driving out the heathen before them, prepared the way for the people of God.

Peace with the natives, if kind treatment and justice could effect it, was an important object with this little colony. But the natives seemed averse from all intercourse, till the 16th of March, 1621, when a sturdy Indian was seen stalking into the midst of the settlement at Plymouth. He had been acquainted with the fishermen at Monhigan, and could speak broken English. His name was Samoset. After having given useful information, he was dismissed with several presents. He gave an account of the Indian tribes, their numbers, and of the pestilence, of which four years before every man, woman and child had died in the place where they then were. Six days after this, he returned with one Squanto, whom Hunt had sold as a slave into Spain, and who had thus escaped the mortality of his tribe. Massasoit soon appeared on a hill with 60 men. This man was the grand sachem of a wide dominion. After taking proper measures of security and making

presents of a few knives and trinkets, they were presented to governor Carver. A green rug and a few cushions were spread for the company to sit on. "*A pot of strong water*" was given the Indian king, "*who drank a great draught, that made him sweat all the while after.*" Victuals, biscuit and butter were set before them. The result of this interview was a treaty of friendship. Both sides agreed to avoid injuries, to punish offenders, to restore stolen property and to aid in all wars which were justifiable. Massasoit and his successors observed this treaty for 50 years, and it was of great service to the Plymouth colony. Squanto preferred to continue with the colony, and taught them how to plant corn, and where to take fish.

This treaty was displeasing to the other Indian nations. The Narragansets declared war on Massasoit. Much blood flowed among the natives ; but the Plymouth company having joined their faithful ally, their fire arms soon decided the contest. Canonicus, the terrific sachem of the Narragansets, filled with dismay, soon sought safety in a peace.

Through the influence of Massasoit, a large number of other sachems in the vicinity became friendly to the English settlers. The islands in Massachusetts Bay had formerly been cleared of their wood and been filled with a great population ; but wars,

and still more a late dreadful pestilence, had rendered them entirely desolate. For a time, therefore, the natives seemed well pleased with their new neighbors. In their estimation, the smallest presents of European manufactures, such as beads, knives, nails and ornaments were of great value. On receiving these, they sung, they danced, they could not contain their joy, they were among the happiest beings in existence.

This scene was too pleasing to last long. The southern regions had been already distressed by the ravages of war and the work of death. The natives, however, in the south had their successive periods of friendship and hostility.

One of the most memorable instances of friendly dispositions towards the English is that of the amiable Pocahontas. Her father, Powhatan, was the most powerful king in that country. Capt. Smith, who had long been known as one of the most successful warriors against him, had by misfortune fallen into his power. He was by order of Powhatan about to be led to death. He was doomed to lay his head upon a stone and to have his brains beat out with a club. His head was bowed down to receive the fatal blow, when Pocahontas, the king's beloved daughter, now only 12 years of age, rushed between him and the executioner, folded his head in her arms, and, laying her own upon it, saved his life. After this,

in 1612, she was seized by an English captain, by the name of Argal, and carried into Jamestown. During her residence there, she was married to Mr. Rolfe, an Englishman, on whose heart she had made a deep impression. Some of the most distinguished families in Virginia are the fruits of this marriage, at the same time, it was the means of reconciling Powhatan to the English.

After the death of this sachem, his successors formed a conspiracy to massacre all the white people in one day. The plot was managed with peculiar secrecy and address. With every appearance of friendship, 347 persons were killed in one hour, and almost at the same instant of time. A discovery by a friendly Indian, who had not a heart to butcher his master, by whom he had been treated as a son, prevented more extensive massacres.

The news of this massacre in Virginia created great alarm in the minds of the people at Plymouth. This alarm was increased by the warlike attitude of the Narraganset Indians. Their grand sachem, Canonius, had sent to the colony a significant emblem of war, "a bundle of arrows bound up with the skin of a serpent." The governor did not hesitate to return the skin filled with powder and balls. This display of spirit saved the colony from a present war. The massacre and the message, however,

were sufficient to show the necessity of fortifications. Though enfeebled by famine, they surrounded the town with a blockade and four flankers; and, dividing the company into four squadrons, they were on guard by rotation by day and by night.

A conspiracy, however, had actually been formed. During the sickness of Massasoit, a disclosure had been made of it. John Hampden, afterwards the distinguished opposer of the arbitrary demands of king Charles, was sent with presents and cordials for his relief. In return for the cure the medicine effected, and for the kindness shown, this Indian chief gave information of a conspiracy formed for the total extirpation of all the English. Capt. Standish carried into execution the plans of the governor, which once more saved the colony.

Squanto himself, although at heart friendly to the English, had acted an improper part. To increase his popularity with his red brethren and to procure presents from them, he had often sent word to them, that the white people were about to go and destroy them, but that he would use his influence to prevent it. In order to ingratiate himself with the English likewise, he had told the Indians, that the former kept the plague buried in a cellar, which they could send out, when they pleased, to destroy their enemies.

In 1624, a bull and 3 heifers were the

first cattle brought into the colony. The inhabitants also were increased by new adventurers. The whole number of souls in the plantation in the year 1629, did not, however, exceed 300. About this time, the puritans in England began to be persecuted with new virulence. These puritans now consisted of opposers to despotic monarchy as well as of dissenters from the established religion. This persecution kindled into a flame, which consumed thousands in England, and drove others to settle in New England and in other parts of America. The far famed Oliver Cromwell himself was on the point of embarking for America. Alarmed at the rapid emigration from the mother country, an order of government suspended the departure of still more. In the spring of 1630, 1500 persons had come over to settle at Salem and Charlestown, in Massachusetts. Some of these had come from noble families, "*from a paradise of plenty and pleasure into a wilderness of wants.*" Another conspiracy of the Indians as far as Narraganset was now discovered by John Sagamore, a friendly Indian.

Among those highly distinguished at this time for courage, activity and acts of heroism, Capt. Miles Standish was the most celebrated. Being a man of little stature, Pecksuot, an Indian chief of a hostile disposition and of great strength, size and courage, had used several threats and was ready to proceed from words to blows.

Wittawamet and another Indian, sons of war, actually whetted their knives before him, boasting of them that they had already killed both English and French. Wittawamet said of his, "*by and by, it should see and eat, but not speak.*" The next day, there being about an equal number of Indians and English in a room together, Capt. Standish fastened the door, seized Pecksuot, took his knife from him, and plunged it into his body, while the rest killed Wittawamet, and hanged a young Indian. In this struggle, there was no noise, but what the work of death made unavoidable. The Indians received an incredible number of wounds, and did not cease to struggle but with the extinction of life itself.

At another time, an Indian was about to take his life, while he was drinking a cup of water given him for the purpose ; but Capt. Standish perceiving his design, drawing suddenly his sword, cut off his head with one stroke. Numerous were the acts of heroism he performed, so that he has been styled by a late writer, "*the Washington of the New Plymouth Company.*"

At this early period, there were no bloody or general wars. Conspiracies indeed were often formed, but, being timely and remarkably discovered, massacres were prevented. But although little blood flowed, still a spirit of hostility was indulged in secret, ready to break out into open acts, when the hope of success should offer.

CHAPTER IV.

Connecticut settled. Constitution adopted. Rev. Mr. Hooker. Indian tribes. Pequots. Their depredations and massacres. Troops raised. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. Eloquent speech of a minister at Hartford to the soldiers. Indian mode of torture. Narragansets join the English. Battle with the Pequots. Its results.

THE English colony, greatly increased in courage and wealth, and still more in numbers, now began to think of more distant settlements. As early as 1634, Connecticut had begun to be settled. In 1635, the Rev. Mr. Hooker, inferior to none of the clergy except the Rev. Mr. Cotton of Boston, with a part of his congregation, 100 in number, removed from Newtown near Boston, and settled in Hartford, on Connecticut river. Mrs. Hooker was carried in a litter. They drove with them 160 head of cattle, which mostly perished for want of fodder during the next winter. They were 14 days on the journey through the wilderness, a distance of nearly 100 miles, which is now passed by the stage in a day. The river they found frozen over by the 15th of November. In

addition to the loss of cattle to the amount of 8000 dollars in value, during the first winter, the people themselves suffered greatly by famine. Not long after, the Rev. Mr. Davenport settled at New-Haven. The first public worship attended was on 18th of April, 1638, beneath a large oak, when Rev. Mr. Davenport preached on "*the temptations of the wilderness.*"

One of the Indian tribes, of which Wah-quimicut was grand sachem, had invited the English to go there, influenced by the expectation that they would afford him aid in defending himself against the neighboring tribes, with whom he had not the best understanding. In addition to this, the English had made a purchase as well of the Indians, as of the proprietors in England. The Dutch at Manhadoes, the ancient name of New-York, had claimed the lands as far as to Connecticut river, but chose to relinquish their supposed rights rather than to defend them by force, as the Dutch, inferior in numbers, were not equal to a war with the English.

The Rev. Mr. Hooker and his little colony had no sooner arrived at Hartford than they proceeded to form a civil compact, although they still considered themselves under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. This constitution, in its most essential points, still continues to be that of Connecticut. Though founded on principles of perfect natural

equality and is highly democratic, it still remains the pride and boast of that section of the country, which has so often been styled, "*the land of steady habits.*" Other states have amended or entirely changed their original constitutions ; but that state seems to have acted on the principle, that "*whatever is best administered is best.*" That has adhered to its old form of government through ages remarkable alike for making and breaking constitutions.

Connecticut had been settled by several of the most warlike and numerous tribes ever known in New England. Of these the Pequots, the Mohegans and the Podunks were the most active and powerful. New London, whose ancient name was Pequot, was the seat of dominion, and gave name to the tribe, of which Sassacus was grand sachem. This monarch had extended his conquests from a part of Narraganset as far as to Connecticut river, including the sovereignty of all Long Island. On the arrival of the English, he made a treaty which he never regarded, and ceded lands which he soon claimed again as his own. The Mohegan possessed all Windham county and a part of the two contiguous, the sachem of which was Uncus, distinguished by his fidelity and friendship for the English. The Podunks had their seat of residence at East Hartford, whose chieftain was Tatanimoo.

The smaller tribes were scattered through the whole territory of that state.

The English increased with great rapidity. Accessions to them were made from the eastern colonies and still more from adventurers from Europe. Invited by the beauty of the country, the general prevalence of health and the richness of the soil, very many of the best towns in Connecticut were already settled by the white people. The Indians beheld their progress with a jealous eye. They saw their power, and were sensible of their superior skill. They perceived no means, which could fix effectual mounds to the overwhelming torrent. Every day increased the numbers of the new settlers, whose strength was already to be feared. Should things long proceed in this train, they plainly perceived there would be no room for them. Nor could they retire back into the wilderness, without trespassing on the lands of other tribes. The idea too of leaving the lands where the bones of their ancestors rested, and which they themselves had so long planted, was to them utterly insupportable.

The Pequots saw their dangers; and, long habituated to conquests, they possessed courage to make resistance to encroachments, of which they saw no end. But knowing they had a new foe, more powerful than any former one, with whom they had now to contend, they were desirous to

strengthen their cause by a confederacy with other tribes. They applied to the Narragansets, offering a treaty of alliance with them. They used arguments to show, that their common dangers ought now to make them common friends ; that, although heretofore they had contended with each other for extent of territory and power, now they had to contend for existence ; that their united efforts would soon drive the enemy from their invaded territories ; that those who should be the last to fight would only, instead of escaping, be the last to be destroyed ; and that constant encroachments left them no possible safety but in their courage and in their arms. This policy, however good, was not easily to succeed. The Narraganset tribe, instead of yielding to the force of these arguments, even went so far as to inform the white people of the plot. Their former hostilities with their red brethren had created such an incurable dislike as was never to be erased from their revengeful breasts as long as traces of them were left in their memories.

Unable to procure aid from those, whom they had formerly treated as enemies, they were resolved to take counsel from courage only. Their hearts were undaunted, their minds active, their sentiments full of independence, alike unused to fear and defeat. To war they were prompt ; and the execution of their plans always followed the de-

cisions of their councils. They had few arms to get in readiness; and the moment of determination was that of preparation for war.

Their arms and mode of fighting did not qualify them to meet Europeans in any kind of regular pitched battle. It was a much deeper policy in them to take off their enemies in detail, to destroy their cattle, to terrify every class of people, and by fear, force and devastation, to drive them from their neighborhood, while they were few and feeble. They wished to destroy Hercules in his cradle, before he attained the age and the strength of a giant. From a bark sailing down the river, they killed one man and took another, whom, after having cut off his feet and his hands, they tortured to death. Near Weathersfield, they killed 6 men, killed 3 women, and took 2 maids captive, besides killing a horse and 20 cows. Year after year, numbers were destroyed in forms shocking to humanity. At length, the massacre of captains Stone and Norton with 6 men, induced the English seriously to demand satisfaction. This being refused, 90 men were sent to chastise the offenders under the command of captains Endicott, Underhill and Turner. They no sooner approached them than 40 Indians discharged their arrows and fled with precipitation. Little more was done than killing a few Indians, burning several wigwams, destroy-

ing several hundred acres of corn, and breaking into pieces their canoes.

The depredation and massacres continuing with unabated cruelty, the Pequots grew daily more insolent and outrageous. They began to consider the English as destitute of spirit, since they could suffer so long the indignities and the injuries offered them. Things had now become such, that no choice was left but that of war. Three little armies were raised for this purpose. The Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies sent 200 men, with Rev. Mr. Willson as chaplain, "*to sound the silver trumpet of the gospel before them.*" Rhode Island, not being deemed sufficiently orthodox on tenets much agitated in those days, was not usually invited to join the holy bands in the wars against the savages. Connecticut raised her quota of 190 men, placed under the conduct of Capt. Mason. About 60 Mohegans and 200 Narragansets were permitted without any religious scruples to join on the way in these holy crusades. The troops from Massachusetts did not arrive in season for the main action, having been detained by disputes and decisions concerning the covenant of grace and of works, a controversy introduced by the celebrated Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, a zealous antinomian of Boston, who was banished for her opinions by the meek and benevolent christians and clergy of that colony, and sent near New-

Haven among the Indians, who soon murdered both her and her numerous family. Few as the Connecticut troops were, when they arrived at the place of action, some, not being considered by all quite orthodox on a few points in theology, were dismissed. They imagined that the blessing of God would not follow their arms, while there was one heretical Achan in the camp to trouble the hosts of Israel. Reduced to 90, who though few were found to be found in the ordeal of orthodoxy, they were resolved, however, to proceed, without delay.

Before setting out on the expedition, one of the ministers of Hartford, by way of consecration, made to the Connecticut troops the following speech.

“Fellow soldiers, contrymen and companions ! you are this day assembled by the inevitable providence of God. You are not collected by wild fancy, nor ferocious passions. It is not a tumultuous assembly whose actions are abortive, or, if successful, produce only theft, rapine, rape and murder, crimes inconsistent with nature’s light, inconsistent with a soldier’s valor. You, my dear hearts ! were selected from your neighbors by the godly fathers of the land, for your known courage to execute such a work. Your cause is the cause of heaven ; the enemy has blasphemed your God, and slain his servants ; you are only the ministers of his justice. I do not pretend that your en-

emies are careless and indifferent. No, their hatred is inflamed ; they thirst for blood ; they would devour you and all the people of God. But, my brave soldiers ! their guilt has reached the clouds ; they are ripe for destruction ; their cruelties are notorious, and cruelty and cowardice are always united. Therefore, there is nothing to prevent your certain and complete victory, but their nimble feet, their impenetrable swamps and woods. From these your small numbers will *entice* them, or your courage drive them.

“ I now put the question, who would not fight in such a cause, fight with undaunted boldness ? Do you wish for more encouragement ? More I give you ! Riches waken the soldier's sword ; and though you will not obtain silver and gold on the field of victory, you will secure what is infinitely more precious. You will secure the liberties, the privileges, the lives of Christ's church in the world. You will procure safety for your affectionate wives, safety for your “harmless, prattling, smiling babes.” You will secure all the blessings of goodness and mercy enjoyed by the people of God in the ordinances of religion. Distinguished was the honor conferred on David in his destroying the enemies of the Lord ; this honor, O ye courageous soldiers of God ! is now prepared for you. You will now execute his vengeance on the heathen ; you will

bind their kings in chains and their nobles in fetters of iron.

“ But perhaps some one may fear that a fatal arrow will deprive him of this high honor. Let every faithful soldier of Jesus Christ be assured, that if any servant be taken away, it is merely because the honors of this world are too narrow for his reward ; an everlasting crown is set upon his head, because the rewards of this world are insufficient. March then with christian courage, in the strength of the Lord ; march with faith in his divine promises, and soon shall they fall like leaves of the forest under your feet.”

The Connecticut troops had not proceeded far, before they captivated 18 Pequots, and killed 22. The English making no objections, Uncus and his warriors executed one notorious offender among their prisoners in their own peculiar way. Tied to a stake, a fire was kindled near him, till his skin was parched. The Mohegans then tore him limb from limb. Cutting his flesh into small pieces, they handed them round, each eating a bit, singing and dancing round the fire, till they concluded with throwing the relicts into the flames.

While passing through the country of the Narragansets, warriors to the amount of 500 joined the English, under the command of Miantinomi, their grand sachem. Learning that they were to be marched a-

gainst the terrific Sassacus and the Pequots in their forts, their courage failed them; they even showed a disposition to return home, although they had at first manifested great spirits, and, while brandishing their knives, boasted what vast multitudes they would kill, and they were impatient for the battle. Wequash, a Pequot sachem, who offended had revolted from Sassacus, was a faithful guide to the English against his own countrymen. The enemy had retired to two forts for security. Fatigued by the march of a very warm day, they were unable to reach in season the one they had intended to attack first.

Because it was nearer at hand, they proceeded to Mystick fort. In the morning of the 26th of May, 1637, they encamped in Groton, between two rocks. They were now so near the enemy, that the advanced centinels could distinctly hear the savages singing and dancing within their fort with great merriment. Their mirth and security were owing to a belief that the English had retired, as they had the day before seen several vessels pass. Wequash, their guide and spy, had discovered that all the Pequots were asleep in the fort. The important moment had arrived.

The fate of Connecticut was now to be decided. At the dawn of day, the English moved in two squadrons to the fort. The courage of the Indian allies now total-

ly failed, at the moment they were needed. Capt. Mason bid them not retire, but to stand round the fort at a distance, and only looking on see what white people could do. A dog within the fort began to bark. A Pequot centinel cried out, "*Wanux ! Wanux !*" meaning, English ! English ! At this moment, the English entered the fort. They fired upon the inhabitants as they lay asleep on the floors of their wigwams. The blaze and the thunder of the musketry first awaked them to a sense of dangers ! If they rushed out, the sword pierced them. If they climbed over the palisadoes, the balls brought them to the ground. Every way they fled, death met them with all his terrors. The Pequots indeed displayed feats worthy of Roman courage, rallied by their sachems and aided even by their women.

After a desperate conflict of two hours, victory being still doubtful, Capt. Mason with his own hand caught a firebrand, which instantly communicated the devouring element to all the wigwams, which were covered with mats. As the fire advanced, the English formed a circle round the fort. Their Indian allies now began to venture to become nearer spectators of the scene of death, forming another circle still behind the English. There was for the Pequots no escape. Whom the flames did not devour, the sword met. Five or six hundred perished in as many minutes. The roar of

arms, the blaze of the wigwams, the shrieks of the sufferers, the tremendous yells of 500 Indian allies, and the darkness of the woods all around, exhibited a scene of sublimity, heightened by the horrors combined with it.

Crowned with a great victory, the joys of which were abated by the loss in killed and wounded of 25 only, the English began to retire to the vessels now appearing in the harbor to receive them. In the mean time, the Pequots from the other fort had sent 300 men to aid their brethren, who had fallen. These assaulted the rear of the English, who in return gave them a warm reception. The Indians, driven back to the fort yet smoking both with blood and flames, viewed the scene with amazement and horror. They stamped, they bellowed, they tore the hair from their heads, when with increased fury they renewed the pursuit for 6 miles after the English.

This, however, was a decisive victory. The Pequots were utterly ruined. Many were taken captives and more destroyed. 600 Indians were also surrounded in a swamp, 60 only of whom made their escape. The captive Indians were made servants, some were sold as slaves, and those who survived fled to the westward, among whom was Sassacus himself.

In these several engagements, 2000 Pequots were killed, and 1000 captivated. The Mohawks totally destroyed the remain-

der ; and, in the autumn of 1638, the scalp of Sassacus himself was presented to the governor and council of Plymouth. This ended the war with the Pequot nation, leaving the Indian tribes to contend with each other, while the English enjoyed peace for more than 30 years. The English troops were very orthodox no doubt, but their wild excesses are to be deeply regretted ; and it must be allowed by all, that their barbarities were sometimes such as to make them differ very little in character from that of the savages themselves ! And if christians could conduct as these did, what worse could infidels do ? Orthodox creeds do not always sanctify the heart and conduct.

CHAPTER V.

New conspiracies formed by the Indians. State of the English. Indians secretly prepare for war. Philip's revenge. War commenced. The Narragansets submit. Distress and escape of Philip. Battle at Brookfield. Judge Goffe at Hadley. Battle at Deerfield. At Springfield. With the Narragansets. Domestic Indians treacherous. Towns garrisoned. A terrible battle. Canada Indians. Their massacres. Indian art. English in danger. The fortune of Philip declines. His death.

A PEACE was the consequence of events so disastrous to the savage tribes. But it was a peace which, after the experience of the past, could not fail to mingle fears with it. Nor were these without a foundation in the present state of things.

Although peace could not be of any long duration, still the English had become much more able to make a defence. New England in 1673 is said to have contained 123,000 souls, and it had 16,000 men able to take the field against the enemy.

From the year 1670, the Indians were in secret making great preparations for war till 1675, when their designs were too obvi-

ous to be longer even doubtful. A great part of this preparation consisted in spreading discontent and forming alliances. Metacom, which was the original name of Philip, second son of Massasoit, his eldest son having died young in a fit of violent passion, was the grand mover of all the difficulties which followed. In the course of the war, Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies suffered much more severely than any part of New-England. At length, Philip became so much suspected of bad designs, that he was required to appear before the general court at Plymouth. He declared his entire innocence, and made new professions of friendship for the white people. By them, however, Indian faith was considered in the same light as Punic faith was by the Romans.

A law had been made forbidding to sell guns or implements of war to the Indians; but still they had found means to supply themselves with these instruments of death, by which they might now meet the English with better hopes of success. These circumstances could not fail to multiply new fears in the public mind. After all the late professions of friendship, the hostile preparations by Philip were increased rather than abated in activity. It became high time for the English to consult their own safety. They demanded of Philip to give up all his guns and ammunition. With extreme re-

instance, - he actually surrendered to the Plymouth government 70 guns, pretending that these were all, which could be found in the possession of his countrymen.

They also required a new expression of his submission to the English king. But to him, whose mind was independent, thirsting for revenge, and daring all extremes, of very little validity were all his professions, submissions, bonds, promises and oaths. Little more than preparations were effected between the years 1670 and 1675. Philip during these 5 years was active. At length, the Indians at Hadley confessed the whole plot. Philip had only 500 warriors of his own tribe, the Pokonaket. The Narragansets were to furnish their complement of 4000 men, and other tribes in proportion to their numbers. Surrounded by all these numerous and dreadful enemies, whose malice had now grown into madness, it seemed to many doubtful, whether the Europeans would be able to retain their footing in the new world.

The Indians were unwilling to begin the contest but from necessity, influenced, not by principle, but by a superstitious opinion, that the party striking the first blow would be unsuccessful in the result. Philip, at last, brought on the war much sooner than he himself intended, and before his allies were ripe for action. This, for a time, confounded all their plans, and disturbed their con-

federacies, doubtful alike whom to join, or how to proceed.

John Saufaman was a praying Indian, a name given to christian converts, made under the preaching of Rev. Mr. Elliot, the illustrious apostle to the Indians of Natick, 15 miles west of Boston. This convert had been some time at the college ; and had also been employed as a schoolmaster. Upon some misdemeanor, he had fled to Philip, who had made him his grand secretary and prime counsellor. After some years, Mr. Elliot prevailed with him to return back to Natick, where, after confessing repentance of his apostacy, he became a preacher, when his old sins were only spurs to his new zeal.

Made well acquainted with the Indian plots, he betrayed the secrets of Philip to his English friends. Philip of course now determined on revenge. He employed 3 or 4 savages to assassinate him, who knocked him down as he crossed a frozen pond, and sunk his body beneath the ice. An Indian from a hill saw the whole transaction. The murderers were executed by the Plymouth government. Apprehending his own turn would come next to suffer under the sentence of laws not of his own making, Philip began to execute openly what he had long been contriving secretly. Marching through the several tribes, he collected forces from every quarter.

Bold, active, artful, proud and persevering, having nothing more to hope from the English, to whom reconciliation had become impossible, Philip began the work of ravages and massacres with a zeal worthy of a good cause. He commenced by offering insolence to the white people, killing their cattle and rifling their houses. An Englishman was so provoked by these insults as to fire upon an Indian and wound him. This was said to be the first gun discharged.

In June, 24th, 1675, an inhabitant of Rehoboth was fired on by a party of Indians, but it did no other mischief than to strike off the hilt of his sword. The same day, as Swansey people were returning from the public worship of a fast, they were attacked, one was killed and several others wounded. Two men, who went to procure the aid of a surgeon, were killed. In another part of the town, they beset a house, and murdered 6 persons more. Troops were raised without delay ; but even these had no sooner arrived at Swansey, than they were fired on, and one killed and another wounded. The Indians being pursued, fled into a swamp, where 6 of them lost their lives. Philip also was obliged to quit Mount Hope, the seat of his dominion, and the Indians quitted their towns.

The English forces, not finding the enemy, went sword in hand to form a treaty

with the Narragansets, who, being terrified at their approach, submitted to the terms which had been dictated, though it was evident that their hearts were with Philip.

Having arrived at Taunton on their return, and hearing that Philip was in a swamp at Pocasset, they entered it with great resolution. The English, firing at every bush they saw stirring, found they were in danger from their own men ; and the difficulty of advancing and the approach of night determined them to give up the chase. Philip was in great distress. Half an hour's further pursuit would have placed both him and his men in the power of their pursuers and have prevented the evils which followed. This fortunate escape induced other tribes to commence hostilities. The Nipnet Indians, who lived in Worcester county, had, before this, killed 4 or 5 persons in Mendon.

In hopes of reclaiming these, 20 horsemen were sent to make a treaty at Brookfield, where was to be a great rendezvous of Indians. In a narrow passage between a steep hill and a thick swamp, they were ambushed by 300 warriors, who killed 8 and wounded 3. The inhabitants being alarmed fled, and together with the surviving horsemen crowded into one of the principal houses. Every house, barn and out-house was soon consumed. Attempts were made to set fire to the house where they were, and

which had before been surrounded by the savages. Perceiving the difficulty of accomplishing their object, they filled a cart with hemp, tow and other combustibles, and having set fire to the whole, while they were advancing it up to the house, a tremendous shower of rain suddenly extinguished the fire. Troops from Lancaster at the same time appeared to afford relief. Aid also had been sent from Springfield ; but the savages had departed, having first poured into the besieged house all the shot they had, but without any effect.

In the mean time, Philip, though watched by the troops of Massachusetts, had found means to make his escape from the swamp. He proceeded westward, accompanied by 40 warriors ; numbers having deserted him on the reverses of his fortune.

The Indians on Connecticut river now began to be troublesome. Hatfield, Deerfield, Northfield and their vicinity experienced great terrors and disasters. In these engagements too the savages were victors.

Hadley was attacked on a fast day, first of September, 1675, while the congregation were in the midst of church service. In this consternation, the people not knowing where to fly for aid, a grave, elderly person appeared suddenly in their streets, differing from them in mein, dress and manners. Putting himself at their head, he rallied them, showed them what to do, in-

structed them how to encounter, and how to conquer the savage foes. His efforts being crowned with surprising success, the deliverer of Hadley suddenly disappeared forever. It has since been supposed, that this gentleman was the celebrated Goffe, one of the judges who condemned king Charles, and was driven into voluntary exile.

Alarms were now spread far and wide ; and fiction created a thousand rumors. These produced effects even in Boston, and 1200 men were in arms in one hour, and dismissed in the same, when the rumors were found to be fabricated. Suspensions were entertained of the friendly and domestic Indians, who were indeed not unfrequently treacherous. At one period, a law was even passed, that "*no person shall entertain, own, or countenance any Indian, under the penalty of being a betrayer of this government.*"

The towns were now garrisoned in diverse places. A magazine of provisions was attempted at Hadley. Capt. Lathrop and 30 men were sent to guard the carts employed in bringing down 3,000 bushels of corn from Deerfield, when about 800 Indians attacked them ; the English, after a brave defence, were all destroyed except 7 or 8. Capt. Moseley stationed at Deerfield came too late to afford relief, who had in turn to contend with the whole body of the enemy for several hours, when with the aid of 160 Mohegans, he put them to flight.

This was a dreadful day to the county of Essex, to which belonged almost all the slain, who were in the bloom of youth, the hopes of many parents.

Springfield was next attacked. Within a mile of that village, the Indians, who had been friendly for more than 40 years, had a fort. Philip's Indians had persuaded them to admit 300 of his men into it by night, and to join in the destruction of the town. The plan was discovered the night before its intended execution by Top, a friendly Wind-for Indian. The discovery was the means of saving the lives of the inhabitants, but more than 30 houses were burned. In making an onset on Hatfield with great fury, a repulse discouraged further ravages.

The scene of action was now transferred to Rhode Island. Contrary to the faith of solemn engagements, the Narragansets had afforded aid and comfort to Philip's followers. Some of that nation had actually joined the enemy in arms. Should the rest follow the example, being scattered in every part of the country, the English forces would be found unequal to the contest. Former soldiers had been almost entirely destroyed, nor were better hopes entertained for the future. It was of course deemed good policy to attack the Narragansets in the winter, before they could acquire new strength. For this purpose, 1000 troops were raised, more than half of whom were

from Massachusetts. Winslow, the governor of Plymouth, was the general. At Pettyquamscot, 300 troops from Connecticut joined them, which with the Plymouth troops, and 160 friendly Indians, constituted an army of 1500 men. They made use of one Peter, an Indian, who, disgusted with his red brethren, offered himself, as a guide. The enemy, being informed of the armament, had fortified themselves with great strength. The English rushed upon them with more zeal than order. They had observed no plan of attack. The enemy had erected a fortress on a piece of upland in the centre of a swamp, surrounded with palisades and a hedge of trees nearly one rod in thickness. At one corner, was a gap, the length of one log. Here, the breastwork was not more than 5 feet high. The entrance was on a long tree over the water, where only one person could pass at a time. Against even this pass, a blockhouse had been constructed. Through this pass, and no where else, could the English enter.

The Indians had first met them at the edge of the swamp, fired and made their retreat to their strong hold. The English pursued. By accident they came to the only place of entrance. It was no time for deliberation. The captains entered at the head of their companies. The two first were shot dead, as were many of their men. Four other captains soon fell. At length,

the passage was forced. The enemy was engaged within his place of refuge. He was driven out of the fort after immense carnage. Three hours hard fighting began to procure some advantages on the side of the English. Fire was now put to the wigwams, which were 600 in number. Vast multitudes of women and children perished in the awful conflagration of their own dwellings. The Indian warriors fled to a cedar swamp at a little distance, destitute of the necessaries of life, without any shelter from the storms and the cold. The night coming on, the works of death and conflagration ended, the English began to retreat to their winter quarters, which were at the distance of 16 miles, where they had to carry as well the dead as the wounded.

The carnage and the sufferings were great. They lost their way in the stormy night. Some of the wounded died during the cold night and on the long march. A large proportion of brave officers had fallen. Eighty men were killed, and 150 wounded. Out of 300 men from Connecticut, 80 were either wounded or killed. 3 out of their 5 captains were killed, and one so wounded as never to recover. 700 Indian warriors were left dead on the field of battle; and 300 more died of their wounds. 600 were taken prisoners, of whom 300 were warriors. The Indians had lost their all. They were left without firesides, with-

out food, driven from the country of their birth, exposed to all the severity of deep snows and cold storms. To complete their ruin, the English searched their country, seized the corn, and burned hundreds of wigwams. In these several actions, 3,500 Indians were engaged ; and 1000 more were kept as a body of reserve. Not being in a condition to pursue the enemy, the English returned to Boston on the 5th of February, 1676, after vast scenes of losses and sufferings.

Troubles from the savages did not terminate here. Having little more than ground-nuts on which to subsist, want compelled them to leave their country. Wherever they went, however, they were sure to carry terrors, massacres and distresses. An union of all the savages was now expected. A party soon laid Mendon in ashes. Having received recruits from Canada, they burned Lancaster. They killed and took captive 40 persons. Among the latter was Mrs. Rowlandson, the minister's wife ; he being gone on a journey to Boston to procure the means of defence. Marlborough, Sudbury and Chelmsford were theatres of sufferings. On the 21st of February, 1676, they fell upon Medfield. Although the town was guarded by 300 soldiers, one half the town was burned and 18 inhabitants massacred. They now approached within 16 miles of Boston, and burned 7 or 8 houses at Weymouth.

The March following was a season still more distressing. Warwick was consumed, where Capt. Pierce and 49 Englishmen were overpowered by numbers and were slain, after they had destroyed 140 of the enemy. The same day, Marlborough was burned, and several killed at Springfield. Northampton did not escape ; there, 5 persons were killed, and as many houses burned. Groton was attacked, and its meeting house consumed. On the 28th of March, they burned 40 houses in Rehoboth, and 30 in the town of Providence. In Sudbury, 12 persons were killed ; and the English going to their relief were ambushed by 500 of the enemy, when more than 50 of the white people lost their lives, 5 or 6 were carried away prisoners, and were scourged, tortured and put to death in a most cruel manner.

The christian Indians were faithful to the English, and often exhibited proofs of a very ready invention. When Capt. Pierce was killed, a christian Indian fled behind a rock, when perceiving that he was discovered and would be shot down the moment he should move away, in this exigency he raised his hat upon a stick, a ball instantly pierced through it, when he rose and shot his antagonist. Another saved himself and the only Englishman who did escape, by running after him with his uplifted hatchet, as if he intended to kill him. Nor were other stratagems wanting, on various other

occasions, which were either less ingenious or less successful.

The prospects of the white people were gloomy. As no spot was secure from a wandering and a maddened foe, fears prevailed every where. Seed time too was fast approaching ; the fields were so many theatres of perils ; and not to plant at all was to perish by famine.

The affairs of Philip seemed more prosperous than ever. His absence during the preceding winter led to a suspicion, that he had gone to the Canada tribes for aid. But as excessive revenge had brought on the war, so the same dreadful passion was to defeat his own purposes and lead to a conclusion fatal to himself. It is said, that in order to engage the Mohawks in the war on his side, Philip, falling upon a party of them, killed them all, as he supposed, when he reported that the English had done this. One of those left for dead, however, revived, and discovered the truth to his countrymen. The Mohawks now fell upon Philip's men and killed 50 of them. The arms of the English began to be crowned with success, in several of their expeditions. The Indians were distressed for want of food, while their ammunition began to fail. The sudden reverses of fortune on both sides abundantly showed, how mutable are all human affairs.

The moment fatal to Philip was hasten-

ing on with rapid pace. His red brethren began to desert his cause ; and submitted themselves to the English by hundreds. Philip himself, after many narrow escapes, fled from swamp to swamp. Never more was he to visit his beloved Mount Hope. His chief counsellors had fallen fighting by his side. His uncle and his sister, his wife and his son were made prisoners. A formidable enemy in Capt. Church was now at his heels. On the 12th of August, 1676, near Mount Hope, Philip was slain, as he was flying out of a swamp from a party under the conduct of Capt. Church. One of Philip's own men, whom he had offended, shot him through the heart. Philip fell in the water and mud. With no covering but his breeches and stockings, his body was dragged to the upland. As he had caused so many Englishmen to lie unburied, Capt. Church would not suffer him to be buried. He directed an Indian to behead and quarter him. The Indian with his hatchet in his hand standing over the body of Philip, thus addressed him. "*You have been one very great man. You have made many a man afraid of you. But so big as you be, I will chop you into pieces.*" One hand chopped off, having a remarkable scar upon it by which it was well known, was carried round the country as a show, and his head was sent to Plymouth, where it arrived on the very day which was consecrated to God in thanksgiving for success and victory.

CHAPTER VI.

Decline of the Indian power. English barbarities to the conquered natives. Women at Marblehead. Great English losses. Biographical sketch of Capt. Church. His narrow escape. Influence over Indians. Interview with Awasshonk. Execution of Barrow. Extraordinary capture of Anawon. War terminates. Eastern Indians. Excited by the French. Tarenteen massacres. Their dread of the Mohawks. French supply the Indians. Return of peace in 1678.

THE death of king Philip and the losses of the Narraganset nation gave a new turn to Indian affairs. One defeat of the natives seemed only to prepare the way for another, and to weaken forces which were once to be feared. In the pursuit which terminated in the death of Philip, 130 more Indians were either killed, or made prisoners. Within a few weeks, Capt. Church subdued several hundred more. Others submitted to the English government; and the reign of peace seemed about to commence with all its blessings.

A small portion of the Indians, pressed by famine and terrified at what had passed, went some to the western and some to the

Canadian tribes. By the time winter approached, none were found in arms. Numerous cruelties were inflicted on those who had surrendered to the English. Neither these or the prisoners were promised anything more than their lives. The most active in the murders committed on the English could obtain no hopes of mercy. A great number of chiefs were executed at Plymouth by public authority. Multitudes were sold for life ; and others sent to Bermudas were disposed of as slaves. The cruelty with which they were treated is deeply to be regretted, as being inconsistent alike with the modern rules of warfare, sound policy and the more benevolent spirit of the religion those conquerors so rigidly professed. They endeavored to justify themselves by pleading the rights of retaliation.

Feeling strongly the losses, terrors and afflictions so long experienced, the spirit of revenge used sometimes to kindle into a flame. A surprising instance of this existed at Marblehead. As the English women came out of the meetinghouse, on the sabbath day, seeing two Indian prisoners in the streets, they barbarously murdered them in a tumultuous manner. This madness originated in revenge for the many massacres which had been committed by the Indians on some fishermen at the eastward, who were relations.

The excesses were great. The treachery

of those who professed to be friendly Indians, as well as the murders and cruelties committed by all the rest, had awakened the worst passions of the human heart. About 600 men had either been murdered by the natives, or had fallen in battle. As many buildings had been burnt. An eleventh part of the militia through New England had been slain in the former wars. There was scarcely a single family not in mourning. The flood of tears was great; the distresses and losses were extensive.

Among those most distinguished in the war against Philip was Capt. Benjamin Church. At the age of 37, the most vigorous period of life, he was able to sustain privations and hardships. Having lived at Little Compton, in the neighborhood of the Indians, he well knew their character, customs and designs. By his acquaintance with many of them, he was invited to their war dances, where he refuted the arguments which the adherents of Philip employed against the English, by which means he prevented some of the tribes from joining in his war measures. His sagacity in penetrating their intentions before they were put into execution was surprising, whereby numerous massacres and ravages were entirely prevented, or at least greatly diminished.

His frequent escapes from danger and death were very remarkable. In sight of Rhode Island, he with 20 men was furious.

ly attacked by 300 savages well armed with guns. Retreat was out of the question. The water was on one side and the hills seemed to move with multitudes of savages on the other sides, while the air was filled with bullets and the roaring of arms. At this critical juncture, a boat came in sight, which might have taken them off. But the people in it made off, as soon as they saw the dangers of a nearer approach to the shore. Some of the men were now in despair; but Church still cheered them with the hope of deliverance. As one of the English was setting up a flat stone for defence, it was struck by a bullet, which greatly alarmed him. Capt. Church observed, *'See how God directs the bullets. The enemy could not hit you, when in the same place. Yet they could hit the stone, the moment it was raised.'* After a brave defence of 6 hours, a loop came to take them off. The sails were instantly perforated with bullet holes. Capt. Church was the last to go on board. Even then recollecting he had left his hat and cut-throats at a well, unwilling these trophies should fall into the hands of the savages, he went for them into new dangers. As he returned, two bullets struck the canoe, another hit a stake opposite his breast, while a fourth grazed the hair of his head.

He next was sent to form a treaty with Awashonk, the squaw sachem of the Secotet tribe. The queen permitting him to

land received him with great apparent kindness. But while going from the shore to a place suitable for them and her attendants to sit down on the grass, where they might converse on the terms of the proposed treaty, in a moment, a vast body of Indians armed with hatchets, guns and spears, with faces painted and hair trimmed in the style of war, rose up, like a black cloud, from their concealment in the tall grass, and surrounded him. Our hero coolly observed to the queen, "*when people treat of peace, they lay aside their arms.*" The warriors looking furly, he again observed, "*they might only carry their guns at a small distance for formality.*" They instantly complied. Circulating freely his tobacco and bottle of rum, they soon concluded to submit to the English and even to join the Captain in his wars. He once gave some liquor to a sturdy Indian from a shell, in circumstances full of danger, in the midst of savages. The Indian, as usual, drank with great avidity, when Capt. Church humorously seized the savage, bidding him, "*not to swallow shell and all.*"

This man had an astonishing skill in managing the savages. It was no uncommon thing for him to make good soldiers out of his prisoners. When they refused to join him, he had only to clap them on the shoulder, and say with a smile, "*come, come. This signifies nothing. My best soldiers were*

once as fullen as you are. *Be with me one day, and you will love me, and feel happy.*" He was never disappointed. Capt. Church, however, knew how to be stern. Among the prisoners taken at Dartmouth was one Barrow, an Indian warrior, noted for the cruelties and massacres he had committed. The Captain told him, he could expect no mercy, and must prepare to die. The warrior answered, "*Your sentence is just. I am ashamed to live any longer. I ask no favor, only to smoke before execution.*" When he had taken a few whiffs, he said, "*I am ready.*" An Indian behind him sunk a hatchet into his head.

A singular adventure will give another view of the genius of Capt. Church, as well as a further insight into the Indian character. From two prisoners, an Indian and his daughter, it was discovered that Anawon and about 60 of Philip's best soldiers were in a swamp at Rehoboth. Capt. Church had with him about 20 men, 16 of whom were Indians. But he was resolved to pursue them. The Indian captive consented to be his guide, but warned him of the danger, saying, "*Anawon is a great warrior. He was a valiant soldier of Woosamequin, the father of Philip. He has been Philip's chief captain during the war. He is a running man, of great resolution. He has declared, he would never be taken alive by the English. His men are daring fellows, some of*

Philip's best soldiers. We fear, he cannot be taken by so few. It will be a great pity, after the great things you have done, now to throw away your life."

Although he had now only one white man with him, Capt. Church could not forego so good an opportunity to come up with the famous Anawon, whom he had so long pursued. At sunset, they arrived near the place of destination. They rested themselves during the time Anawon used to send out his scouts in order to see if the coasts were clear. Church then asked his pilot, whether he would take a gun and fight for him. Greatly affected at this, with a very low bow, he declined, saying, "*I pray you not to impose such a thing on me as to fight my old friend, Capt. Anawon; at the same time, I will go with you, and as you have given me my life, I will lay hands on any man, who shall offer to hurt you.*"

They soon came within hearing of the enemy. Church crawled to the edge of a precipice, where they might be seen. They were in 3 companies. Anawon, his son and some chiefs had prepared a shelter for the night by setting up some bushes against a tree leaning upon the rocks. On the outside, great fires were burning, kettles boiling, and spits turning loaded with meat. Their arms were collected into one place, and covered with a mat. Church arranged for marching down the steep. The pilot

and his daughter, as they might pass unnoticed, descended forward with their baskets on their backs. In the shadow of these, Church and his men let themselves silently down by the bushes among the rocks unperceived. With his hatchet in his hand, Church reached the arms first at the feet of Anawon. The old chieftain, starting up on end, cried out, "*Howah !*" and sunk down again in silent despair. The whole submitted, without one effort at resistance.

"*What have you for supper ?*" said Church to Anawon. "*I am come to sup with you.*" Anawon directed his women to prepare supper ; and asked, whether he would have cow beef or horse beef. Church replied, cow beef would suit him best. After supper, as he had not slept for 48 hours, Church told his men, if they would watch 2 hours, they should sleep the rest of the night. Sleep, however, in his peculiar situation, he found impossible. Getting up, he found all his guards asleep. In the whole camp, Church and Anawon were the only two awake. The recollection of "the days of other years," the remembrance of the 3 Indian kings in whose service he had grown old, the idea of the ruin of his country, and the thought of his own captivity, carried despair into the very soul of Anawon. For one hour, he and Church lay in silence, gazing at each other. Anawon arose and walked away. Being soon out of sight, and

not returning as expected, Church began to grow alarmed. He provided for his own safety by taking all the arms to himself, and by placing himself so near to young Anawon, that in killing one, both must be equally in danger.

It was not long before Anawon appeared. Falling down on his knees, he said, "*Great Captain ! You have killed king Philip, and conquered his country. I believe, I and my company are the last, who war against the English. So, I suppose, the war is ended by your means. These things are, therefore, yours. They are the royalties of king Philip, with which he adorned himself, when he sat in state. I think myself happy in presenting them to Capt. Church, who has so fairly won them.*" Opening his pack, he pulled out a belt 9 inches broad, curiously wrought with black wampum, mingled with white, made into pictures of birds, animals and flowers ; also another worn on the head of the warrior with two flags waving behind ; a third, with a star on the end, hung round his neck down to his breast. To Capt. Church he presented these, which, together with a red blanket and two horns of glazed powder, formed the regalia and the dress of king Philip. Anawon then recounted his own mighty exploits under former kings, with an old man's talkativeness, till morning having dawned, they marched for Taunton.

The dreadful war with Philip being end-

ed, the English were beginning to turn their thoughts to the peaceful arts of husbandry. But the pleasing visions of expectation soon disappeared. A new war broke out at the eastward. Nor was it doubted, that some of Philip's followers, who had gone into that country, were the real instigators of it, and were as busy as ever in kindling the flames of war. The English, therefore, prompt to protect their brethren, put on again the armor, which they had just laid aside.

Other circumstances contributed also to produce this war. Acadie, the ancient name of Nova Scotia, was possessed by the French, to whom it had been surrendered in 1667, by the treaty at Breda. The English and the French nations, long before this, had entertained towards each other strong jealousies of each other's growing power, feeling the most implacable resentments, which time served rather to increase than to extinguish. The French, residing in Acadie, resembling the natives in their habits and mode of living much more than the English did, with a language they learned with greater ease, and with the Roman Catholic religion which savages more readily adopt, obtained a great influence over the Indians. This influence they never hesitated to use in urging them on to war with the English colonies, desirous of driving them entirely from the American continent.

The principal tribe of the eastern Indians was the Tarenteen. These, urged on by their neighbors, the French of Acadie, fell upon the infant colonies in Maine and New Hampshire. The character of these wars was the same as former ones. Massacres and conflagrations, tortures and captivities followed in every part of those regions.

The Indians began hostilities by robbing the English as they passed in boats and canoes ; plundering their houses of guns and ammunition, liquors and movable goods. In September, 1676, they came to the house of an old man, Mr. Wakely, in Casco-Bay, where they murdered him, his wife, several children, and carried others into captivity. Saco was the next victim ; there, 13 were killed. At Scarborough, 20 houses were burned, and 7 persons were massacred. Two were slain at Kittery ; and, while the inhabitants were burying these, 3 more were shot dead. The work of destruction was then turned towards Piscataqua, taking in its course Oyster River, Salmon Falls, Dover, Exeter and several other towns, burning houses, destroying property, and taking the lives of about 50 persons.

Business was now suspended. Each person was seeking his own safety and the security of his own beloved family. Dwelling houses were deserted ; and several families retired into larger buildings, which they

fortified by timber walls and flankarts, with a centry-box on the roof of the house. This was guarded by day and by night.

These troubles continued during several years. Numerous were the feats of heroism ; and great were the sufferings of the people. Troops were continually sent from the colonies ; but they were not able to subdue the enemy. Several hundred Indians from Natick friendly to the English went against their red brethren in the east ; while the eastern Indians in their turn invited to their assistance all the disaffected savages, who had fled to them from the remnants of the Pequots, Narragansets and the followers of king Philip.

Unable to subdue the enemy, the English resorted to a new expedient, which, however, did not produce the effects intended. Among all the eastern tribes of Indians, the very name of Mohawks was frightful. This dread of them originated at a period of time and from causes, of which no memory is retained. The oldest savages experienced the same fears, but could give no account of the causes. These Mohawks, therefore, though living at a great distance, were invited to join the English troops. Several hundreds came ; but they were either unable, or did not wish, to make any distinction between the friendly and the hostile Indians, killing all with

equal avidity. Of course, they were soon dismissed.

It was not easy to discover from what quarter the savages were supplied with ammunition and balls. They were too much afraid of the Mohawk nation to venture towards New-York to purchase there. The French in Canada, if they had the means, did not dare to hazard the tranquillity of the two governments by supplying them, as a treaty of peace had lately been signed. The Indians possessed neither foresight nor money to lay up a stock beforehand for future wars. The colonists were forbidden under severe penalties to sell any to the savages. At length, it was discovered, that licences to sell for purposes of hunting, on paying an acknowledgment to the public treasury had been greatly abused. Baron de St. Castine, a reduced French officer, who had married a daughter of an Indian chief, living out of the limits of any established government, had easily found means to supply the savages, who indeed use little ammunition, never firing without a certainty of doing execution.

Several attempts had now been made to treat with the savages for peace. Both sides had grown weary with the work of death. The Indians began to express regret for what they had done and for the evils they had created. The governor of New-York had sent a sloop with forces to

take possession of the lands granted to the duke of York, and to build a fort at Pemquid Bay, in the district of Maine, in order to prevent the encroachment of foreigners. To these the savages were inclined to be friendly. In proof of these pacific dispositions, they gave up the fishing vessels they had taken, and restored 15 prisoners.

At Casco, on the 12th of April, 1678, three commissioners from New-Hampshire completed a treaty of peace with several tribes of Indians, and gave up the remainder of the captives. The inhabitants were to return to their old settlements in peace, on condition of paying one peck of corn annually to the Indians and one bushel to Major Pendleton, who was a great proprietor. Although the tribute was in itself disgraceful, yet justice pleaded to have some compensation made to the natives for the possession of lands, of which they alone were the real and rightful owners. This ended a bloody war of 3 years duration.

CHAPTER VII.

Various trials endured by the colonies. Indians complain. King Williams' war. Indian ravages. English stratagem. Revenge on Major Waldron. Escape of Mrs. Head. Captives sold into Canada. Indians embrace the Roman Catholic religion. Frontenac's three expeditions. Schenectady burned. Canada Indians and the French attack the eastern colonies. Attempt on Canada fails. Short peace. The French urge the Indians to new murders. Bickford's address. Exeter preserved. French bounty for scalps. Peace of Ryswick, 1698.

PEACE with the Indians, while they were so numerous, was not of very long continuance. During a peace of ten years, complaints were often uttered aloud, and irritations were felt in their minds, which were ready to proceed to fresh outrages.

The English had various difficulties to encounter. Among themselves they were zealously canvassing points in the metaphysical jargon of theology, and persecuting and banishing every one, who dared to differ from the rigid articles of the Puritan faith ; and they were as much engaged in

these things as if they had been works of charity. Their temporal affairs were not in a much better condition than their spiritual. A quo warranto had repeatedly been issued against the colonies by the government of the mother country ; with whom they early began to dispute, while their charters were taken away, or new ones imposed with very diminished rights and privileges.

The French in their neighborhood often encroaching on territories, the jurisdiction of which was warmly contested, were pressing the savages to new acts of hostilities. The Indians themselves, without any new provocations, remembered the past with indignation, were full of apprehensions for the future, and already felt grievances not easily to be endured. They complained that the tribute of corn was not paid them according to stipulation ; that their rivers had been obstructed by dams and seines ; that their standing corn had been devoured by the cattle belonging to the white people ; that patents had been granted covering lands, of which they alone were the legitimate owners ; to part with which they had neither been asked, nor had they given their assent ; while in trade the most abusive frauds had been practised upon them. No attention was paid to complaints not backed by power.

The storm daily thickened. In 1683,

commenced the war which is known by the name of king William's war, in which the English had to contend as well with the French as the Indians. Hostilities began with killing the cattle. Some of the plunderers were seized and confined ; but this increased the evil it was intended to prevent. The savages took several captives, some of whom they killed in their frolics. In the winter ensuing, the English raised an army of 700 men, who found no enemy but the dreadful severity of winter, which destroyed some of them, but not one Indian was to be seen in all their marches. Presents were now tried in order to win their affections ; but their dislike of the English had become incurable. They could never forgive the former conduct of Major Waldron, who had once collected 400 Indians to amuse them with training, in which a sham fight was proposed, the Indians on one side and the English on the other, but no sooner had the savages discharged their guns into the air than the English surrounded and took the whole, selling all the obnoxious ones as slaves into the West-Indies and setting the rest at liberty. Several of those, who had been sold, found their way home, and these together with the French soon engaged the savages in a war.

Several tribes had formed a conspiracy ; and Major Waldron was to be the first victim. An injury, of many years standing,

was as fresh as ever in their memories. The past seemed indeed to have been forgotten. Trade and intercourse, as far as appearances were concerned, were friendly and free as ever. But, all this time, past injuries were felt, and revenge was preparing in secret, ready to burst on the devoted head. The scene of action was laid in Dover, New-Hampshire, at the Lower Falls on Cocheco River, where were 5 garrisoned houses, one of which was Waldron's. To these the people retired at night. Although several intimations of danger had been given, yet no guard was set.

The Indians laid their plans with their usual art and secrecy. Two squaws were to obtain leave to lodge by the fire in one of the garrisons, on the night of the assault. As several Indians had already been seen in town, they gave the English to understand, that a large number of savages were coming the next day to trade at their stores, as usual. In this expectation, the families early retired to rest. As the squaws might have occasion to go out in the night, they were shown also how to open the doors of the garrison. Some Indians, in the habit of lodging in town, when they came in to trade, had found admission into some other garrisons.

On the morning of the 27th of June, 1689, the gates were opened, and the signal given by a whistle. The Indians, set-

ting a guard at the door, entered Waldron's apartment. Awakened by the noise, he sprang up, and, seizing his sword, he drove them through several rooms ; and, though 80 years of age, he acted with the vigor of youth. As he turned back to procure other arms, he was stunned with a blow from a hatchet. The savages took him, placed him in his elbow chair, on a long table, and insultingly asked him, "*who shall judge Indian now ?*" After compelling the family to get them victuals, each savage gave the breast and bowels of Waldron a cut with their knives, each one saying at each stroke, "*I cross out my account.*" Cutting off his nose and his ears, they crammed them into his mouth. Spent at last with torture and loss of blood, he fell from his chair and table, when one held under his falling body his own sword, which put a period to his miseries. After pillaging the house, fire was set to it. Two persons were butchered, and the rest made captives.

The next house was saved by the barking of the dogs, which gave a timely alarm. These the owner turned out, when falling on the floor, by placing his feet against the door, kept it closed, by which low position he escaped the bullets which passed through it. Against the next family they had no spite, and their lives were spared. But finding a bag of money, they compelled the owner to throw it on the floor by handfuls,

while they diverted themselves in seeing who could pick up most of the pieces. The next family had the evening before refused admittance to the squaws. They were determined, as they could hope for no mercy, though often promised it, to fight to the last. But upon seeing the father in their possession about to be butchered before the eyes of the son, they yielded. Being put into a deserted house, they soon made their escape. 23 were killed ; 29 were carried away captive ; 5 houses and all the mills were burned.

The escape of Mrs. Head was remarkable. Returning late at night from Portsmouth with her 3 sons and some others in a boat, hearing a noise as she landed near her own house, she fled alarmed to the garrison of Waldron. She knocked, and begged earnestly for admittance. During the delay in opening the door, her son, looking through a crack, saw the scene within, and an Indian standing at the door with a gun in his hand. Overcome with her fears, she was unable to fly, and could only beg of her children to take care of themselves. Collecting her strength by degrees, she crawled into some bushes near by, till the houses were consumed. As daylight appeared, a stout Indian made towards her with a pistol in his hand. She spoke, he looked at her, and ran yelling towards the house. In the seizure of the 400 Indians by Waldron, this

woman had secreted and saved a young Indian, who was now one of this company. After they were gone, she went home, and found all perfectly safe there.

These captives were the first who were carried to Canada. Some of them were sold to the French, some embraced the Roman Catholic religion, and others intermarried with the savages.

The Indians themselves had begun to adopt the prejudices of the French, and were charmed with the popish religion. They had learned to call the English protestants, "*heretics* ;" and, of course, believed it was right to destroy the enemies of God. These opinions rendered them far more cruel than ever. A bounty was also given for English scalps ; and the prisoners, sold as slaves, or redeemed by their friends, now became the most profitable articles of merchandize. Depredations were made with new vigor and vengeance.

The necessity of raising troops could be no longer resisted by the colonists. Among those raised was Capt. Church, with some hundreds of his friendly Indians. These proved treacherous. Meeting with their brethren in the woods, they gave them information of the forces and the designs of the English. Thus strong is the love of country and of kindred. Little was done against the enemy. Their corn fields were destroyed indeed, but the Indians retired as

their pursuers advanced, finding a home in one place as well as in another ; and never in want, while the rivers and the lakes did not deny them the means of subsistence.

The wars in Europe began seriously to affect the state of the colonies in America. As hostilities had commenced between the English and the French in the old world, the effects were felt in the new. Count de Frontenac, governor of Canada, was anxious to achieve something, which might distinguish him in the eyes of his master. The plan was no other than to send upon the English colonies three parties of French and Indians, during the winter of 1690. This dreary season of the year had heretofore been a period of quiet to the English and of freedom from Indian incursions, owing to the depth of the snow, the want of provisions, the difficulty of retreat, and the severity of the climate. To their former motives were now added, not only a thirst for revenge, but also an enthusiastic phrenzy inspired from the Romish religion. The French priests even went with the savages, as greater barbarians to say mass amidst the holy work of massacres.

One of these parties proceeded towards New-York. The powerful tribes in this state had formerly carried death and devastation into Canada among the French and the Indians. Three years before, the 5 nations from York State with 1200 men had

landed at Montreal, killed about 1000 Frenchmen, and carried terror and conquest wherever they went. The French had used every artifice to gain over to their side the 5 nations, who had been the chief security of New-York. To influence their doubting minds by giving them an idea of their power, and to raise the dejected spirits of the Canadians under their late losses, a party consisting of 200 French and some Cahnuaga Indians set out towards Albany. For 22 days, they waded through deep snows with provisions on their backs, till they reached Schenectady, a village 17 miles northwest of Albany, at 11 o'clock on the night of the 8th of February, 1690. Finding the gates not even shut, they immediately entered the town.

They had men enough to place 6 or 7 at each house, so that the whole village was invested at the same moment. The sleep of security was waked by the noise of the work of death. The French were much greater savages than the Indians. The village was soon all in a blaze ; infants were dashed against the posts of the doors ; women had their bowels ripped open, and their living contents thrown into the flames of their own dwellings.

60 persons were murdered ; 27 made captives ; and 25 lost their limbs by the severity of the cold. A few escaped naked through a deep snow, in a terrible storm, to

Albany. After destroying cattle and other property, they loaded the horses they had taken, and made their way to Canada. They were pursued ; about 25 of them killed, or captivated ; and the rest with great perils and sufferings escaped to Canada.

The second party, consisting of only 52 men, setting out from Trois Rivieres, made their first appearance at Salmon Falls, a village on the river dividing Maine from New-Hampshire. They began their attacks, in 3 places, at daybreak. Although the onset was unexpected, the inhabitants acted with great bravery. Of these 30 were killed, and 54 made captives. They fled, but were pursued. The Canadians lost a number of their men, but still secured a retreat. Meeting the third party, they returned to the attack on Casco. These three expeditions planned by Frontenac were as full of savage cruelties as they were of victories.

Many towns, after this, were destroyed. The new settlers all fled towards the older plantations. The French, having taught the Indians new improvements in barbarity, had found them apt scholars. Several hundreds of the English were butchered in the adjacent villages. At the battle at Exeter, Mr. Stone received 9 wounds from their guns, and 2 from their hatchets ; but, when his friends came to bury him, they perceived a spark of life, which soon kindled into

vigor. At the battle in Lee, seven left for dead recovered.

Canada was now considered as the great source, whence flowed all the troubles of the English. A plan was, therefore, adopted to conquer it. For this purpose, New-York joined her forces to those of New England. A fleet was sent for Quebec ; but it arrived there too late for action ; but lost 1000 men. Disappointed of the aid expected from the 5 nations, the troops from New-York found it impossible to cross the lakes and the rivers ; by which means the expedition entirely failed. The expenses were great, and the failure distressing.

Happily for the distressed settlers, the Indians came with a flag of truce, and concluded a treaty till May, which they observed till June, 1691. The work of massacre then began at Wells and Exeter. A new plan of defence was adopted. Ranging parties, proceeding from one fort to another, prevented those sudden onsets and surprisals, which hitherto had proved so fatal to the villages. This year, therefore, they effected but very little mischief.

The Indians seemed inclined to observe the treaty longer, but the French missionaries were ardent for war, telling them it was no sin to violate their faith with heretics. A French priest accompanied them in their next incursion, which was against the village on Oister river, within the town

of Dover. Here were 12 garrisoned houses, but their negligence was their ruin. Five of the garrisons were destroyed. In one house, they killed 14 persons, who were buried in one grave, vestiges of which yet remain. More than 90 persons were killed and captivated; and 20 houses were burned. During this massacre, the French priest amused himself by writing with chalk on the pulpit of the meeting house, which remained in safety.

Thomas Bickford acted with great presence of mind. Being alarmed, he sent off his family in a boat, when he shut himself up within his house alone, resolved to defend it. Rejecting all offers made him both by promises and threatenings, if he would surrender, he loaded and fired as fast as possible; often changing his dress, appearing at different places, with a hat, cap or coat on, or without either, by which artifice he imposed upon the assailants a belief of there being a great number within, when they left him master of his own house, which he had saved by his own presence of mind and wonderful address.

The town of Exeter was remarkably preserved from massacre on the morning of the 10th of June, 1696. The women, contrary to advice, had gone out to gather strawberries. In order to frighten them, a gun was fired, which produced the desired effect to recal them into the garrison. That

was the very time the Indians had intended to make an assault ; but concluding they were already discovered, they immediately left the town uninjured.

Destruction, however, was carried far and wide. They penetrated even into Massachusetts. Many were the captives whom they sold into Canada ; while the French governor, Count de Frontenac, paid a large bounty for the English scalps, which were brought him. The French also prepared a fleet against New-England, which proceeded as far as Newfoundland. In the mean time, the incursions of the Indians became less frequent, since those who urged them on had greater objects in view. The peace of Ryfwick, in 1698, however, ensued, when Count de Frontenac giving the savages to understand, that war with the English must cease, since peace was established between the two nations, a short respite was given to New-England.

CHAPTER VIII.

Queen Anne's war. New depredations. Indians war in small parties. Governor Dudley refuses a treaty. Colonists raise an army in vain. Savages encouraged. The distress of the frontiers. The French join the Indians. Expedition against Quebec fails. Treaty of peace at Utrecht, 1713. Massacre at Roanoke. Death of Capt. Church.

A new war, usually styled Queen Anne's, commenced in May, 1702, between France and England. Its effects, as usual, soon extended to the colonies in America. The whole weight of this war fell upon New-England. On account of its geographical situation, New-York was an important place to be secured ; as on one side it was open to the attacks of fleets from the ocean, so on the other it was exposed to the irruptions of the enemy from the French colonies. To prevent the loss of New-York, which would have separated the Eastern from the Southern colonies, an army of 1358 men were ordered, but were never raised.

In the mean time, the French in Canada found means to engage the friendship of the Iroquois, or 5 nations, which saved

New-York from Indian ravages, the French still fearing the influence, which that state maintained over their minds. The consequence was, that New-Hampshire and Massachusetts had to contend with the whole French force and their Indian allies. The minds of the belligerents had long been embittered towards each other by prejudices, by the remembrance of former occurrences, and by late disputes concerning extent of territory.

On the 10th of August, 1703, a party of 500 French and Indians, attacking all the towns from Casco to Wells, killed and took 130 persons, and destroyed all before them. Terror spread through the whole country. The English troops pursued them in vain ; as they were as swift in flight as they were furious in assault. The approach of winter usually relieved the frontiers from murders and spoliations.

In 1705, the English attempted an expedition against the Indians with 270 men on snow shoes. Finding no enemy, they burned the deserted wigwams and a French chapel. The governor of Canada now invited the Indians on the borders of New-England to remove into Canada, where they were incorporated with the tribe of St. Francis, by which removal they were placed nearer the seat of influence, and might with greater facility be sent out suddenly on the work of slaughter.

They next made their appearance in April, 1706, on Oister River, where they killed 8 persons and wounded two. A garrison was near by, but not a man in it. The women, aware of the consequences of being taken, fired an alarm gun, put on hats, loosened their hair appearing like men, and fired so briskly that the savages, alarmed for their own safety, fled without burning or plundering the houses, but wreaked their vengeance on those whom they met.

It was the policy of the Indians to go in small parties. By these means, very few of them were killed, while they could keep the whole country in confusion. It was estimated that every savage killed in these excursions must have cost the English colonies more than 3000 dollars.

When the famous Major Church went into Nova Scotia, he asked permission to reduce Port Royal, but was refused by governor Dudley, who was accused of carrying on a clandestine trade there, much to his own advantage, which was sufficient to damp his military ardor. A future attempt failed. The governor had also refused to form a treaty engaging the neutrality of the provinces; no doubt he was looking forward to the time, when not only Nova Scotia, but Canada also might be subjected to the British empire.

This refusal renewed the spoliations by the Indians. The Eastern provinces, except

Connecticut who refused to lend her aid, early in the spring of 1707, raised an army of 1000 men, intending to reduce Port Royal. After a few successful engagements with the enemy, and burning some houses in the vicinity of the fort, a disagreement among the officers and misapprehensions of the actual state of things arising, the enterprize was abandoned in the most shameful manner.

These repeated failures served greatly to encourage the savages. In the succeeding year, a very formidable armament was destined by Vaudrieuil, governor of Canada, against the settlements of New-England. But so many of the savages disappointed him in the promises of aid they had made him, that the plan could not be executed.

The Indians, in the mean time, in their small parties, abated nothing in their zeal for massacre, which had continued already 5 years without intermission, and without any prospect of immediate termination. A great number of the best men were abroad, and those at home were in peril and distress. Trade had well nigh ceased, while their expenses and their dangers only had increased. Their families were crowded into garrisoned houses ; nor could they go out to cultivate their fields beyond call from the garrison ; nor step out of their houses without arms in their hands. Driven to the defence of the frontier settlements, they were in

deaths oft. Or if they refused, they were fined ; and often neglect suffered a severer penalty. Still they persevered with heroism ; and not a garrison was cut off in New-Hampshire, during this long and distressing war.

A party of French, painted red like the dreaded Mohawks, now attacked Oister River settlement. Seven were killed at the first shot, and others wounded. In 1708, a large army from Canada assaulted Haverhill ; but their forces, diminished by various accidents, proceeded no further, and the English were prepared to give them a very warm reception. During several succeeding years, the depredations and the massacres continued. The English were able to kill enough of the enemy to keep up their spirits, while the numbers of the savages were diminishing as well by famine and disease as by war.

A new attempt was made for taking Canada, the fruitful source of massacres and of mischiefs. The English government in Britain seemed to engage in the enterprise with ardor ; and sent over 7 regiments of the veteran troops, who had seen service under the conduct of the duke of Marlborough. To these forces New-England joined her quota, making in all an army of 6500 men. Port Royal had already been taken, and its name changed to that of Annapolis, in honor of Queen Anne. The

troops, proceeding by water, had entered 80 miles up the river St. Lawrence, where 8 transports were wrecked on Egg-Island, one thousand men perished, when the remainder returned, on the 23d of August, 1711, in despair. They were 8 days in beating down the river against an easterly wind, which in two days would have carried them to Quebec with a force too equal to that which afterwards, under general Wolfe, reduced that city, when in a much better state of defence.

The Indians, encouraged by all these failures of the English, were more active and bold than ever in extending spoliation and havoc. New sufferings seemed to hang over the frontier settlements, already greatly enfeebled by former losses, when the treaty of Utrecht arrived, 11th April, 1713, which once more established peace between the English and the French nations. By this treaty, all Nova Scotia was ceded to the British. The Indians, no longer encouraged by the French, sued for peace, a blessing not less welcome to the new settlements.

Some of the most brave and powerful tribes of Indians resided in the Eastern colonies, who continually harrassed the white people of New-England. At the same time, the southern colonies were not reposing upon beds of roses and myrtles. The red people with a jealous eye saw the encroach-

ments of the white. In North Carolina they had formed a plan, in 1712, to exterminate by assassination in one night all their formidable neighbors. The first intimation of any such design was its fatal execution. At Roanoke, 137 persons were murdered in one night. The escape of a few spread the alarm. Assistance from South Carolina was alone able to set bounds to the overwhelming flood of destruction. These troops, consisting of nearly 1000 men, with great celerity, passed the wilderness, and carried unexpected slaughter among the savages; 300 of whom fell, besides those who were captivated. The rest, fleeing to their fortified town of Tuscarora, sued for peace. Having lost about 1000 men, they soon after abandoned their country, and united themselves with the Iroquois nations.

The war with the eastern Indians is memorable also as being the last, in which the celebrated Col. Church was engaged. In this, he acted with his usual energy and success. At Penobscot, he either killed or captivated every Indian and Frenchman whom he met. He forced them from their old haunts at Passamaquoddy. On his return, finding that most of the Indians had deserted the country, he was informed that the French priests had advised them to remove to Mississippi, where they would likewise go, live and die with them. Having predicted his own death, Colonel Church,

aged 78 years, was killed, on his return from visiting a dying sister, by a fall from his horse and by bursting a vein.

CHAPTER IX.

Jesuit missionaries mischievous. Ralle. His flight. Indian devastations. Indians take 17 vessels. Expedition to Penobscot. Jorden's artifice. Indians cruise. Female exploit. Norridgewock taken. Ralle killed. Bounty on scalps. Capt. Lovewell. His success. His death. Battle at Ossapy pond. Peace in 1725.

WHILE very warm disputes between the Governor and the House of Representatives were agitated in Massachusetts, which in the issue were to separate the colonies from the mother country, the frontiers began once more to be distressed by the irruptions of the savages. These had, as formerly, been instigated by the French, who had obtained a great ascendancy over their minds. Jesuit missionaries too resided among them; and these were not less engaged in the intrigues of state than in multiplying religious converts.

Among the most zealous of these was father Ralle. After the cession of Nova Scotia, he still remained among the eastern Indians, who had a high veneration for him. He did not fail to excite jealousies against the English. He exclaimed against

the establishment of the forts, which had been erected within the Indian territories. The Indians themselves had been deceived, when they were told that mills and dams on the rivers were only fortifications against invading enemies. It had not occurred to them, that these would prevent the ascent of fish, on which they greatly depended for subsistence. These missionaries had found means to combine all the eastern and Canadian savages against New-England. They now commenced their spoliations on the unprotected frontiers. Knowing that Ralle was the grand fomentor of all the mischiefs intended, the first efforts of the English were to seize his person. Having received hints of the design formed against him, he made his escape. The papers he left behind, however, made the further discovery, that Mr. Vaudreuil, governor of Canada, had engaged to supply all the savages with arms and ammunition.

This attempt to seize their spiritual father called into action all the revenge, enthusiasm and violent passions, which usually burn in the savage breast with an unquenchable flame. With greater fury than ever, and with much better information, they attacked the new settlements, and all their accustomed massacres and pillage followed.

In 1723, they fell upon Canso and other adjacent harbors, where they succeeded in capturing 17 sail of fishing vessels, own-

ed in Massachusetts. Seven of these were soon retaken by one John Elliot, who, as he approached them, was called upon to surrender. He replied, "*he would make all the haste he could.*" Finding he made no attempt to escape, they began to fear for their own safety, and made for the shore. Elliot immediately boarded them, who, during half an hour, made a brave resistance. But when the hand grenades of the English had made great havoc among them, they threw themselves overboard, and were shot as they swam towards the shore. Five only effected an escape. 15 captives were retaken; many had been sent away; and 9 had been killed in cool blood, the Nova Scotia Indians being reckoned more barbarous than those belonging to the other tribes.

On the 16th of September, 1723, about 500 of the enemy appeared upon Arrow-sick Island. An alarm was given, which enabled the inhabitants to fly in season to their garrison, which was insufficient to repel by a rally such a multitude of invaders. 50 cattle were destroyed; the houses were plundered; and 26 burned in sight of their owners.

The English sent a little army of 230 men up Penobscot river. They found an Indian castle, walled with stockadoes, 70 feet by 50, enclosing 23 excellent wigwams. On the outside, was a church, 60 feet by 30, well constructed, and a very commodious

house for the priest. All were deserted ; and the advantage of the expedition was the burning this village.

Various small parties carried death and destruction, wherever they went. Dominicus Jordon, a principal proprietor of Saco, was attacked by 5 Indians in his field. Keeping his gun constantly presented, without firing, he intimidated the savages and retreated in safety to the garrison.

The enemy also appeared at Rutland in Worcester county, in a meadow. Rev. Mr. Willard fell, after having himself killed one and wounded another. One man had 4 sons killed, while making hay, while the father escaped into the bushes. The same day, they appeared at Northfield, where 2 of the inhabitants were killed.

In 1724, the English met with severe losses both by land and sea. Capt. Winslow, who had just left college, was killed with 13 men at Fort St. George's river. Two whale boats with 17 men were soon after surrounded by 30 canoes. The English attempted to land ; but, after a brave struggle in making the best defence they could, every one was killed. Soon after, the Indians took two shallops, and several fishing vessels, and a large schooner with two swivel guns, which they manned, and cruised about the coasts, repelling with success all attempts to take them.

On the 6th of August, 1724, at Oxford,

the savages opened a breach in the roof of a small house under a hill. As one of them was entering in, he received a fatal shot from a courageous woman, the only person in the house, who had 2 guns and 2 pistols more charged, when they saw fit to retire from such a scene of heroism.

The ravages still continuing, government sent out 208 men to take Norridgewock, the most ancient seat of the natives and the residence of father Ralle. As they approached the village without being discovered, they divided into two parties. One was to attack the village, and the other to go by the way of the cornfields, where they expected to find the Indians at work. About 60 warriors were within the wigwams. An old Indian coming out, instantly sounded an alarm by a war whoop. The women and children fled. The warriors met the English in arms. The first volley passed over the heads of the English without harm; at the second, the Indians fled. Some attempted to swim, some to pass in canoes, and others to ford the adjacent river, but they were shot in the water. A very small number only effected their escape. Their renowned warriors were no more; their town and tribe never flourished again.

The famous Ralle, aged 68, was killed in this battle, in the act, it was said, of loading his gun, for he had been accustomed in his vocation to make use of other

than spiritual weapons. Charlevoix gives a very tragical account of this Jesuit's death. He tells us, that Ralle went out to meet the English, in hopes of drawing all attention on himself, and thus to save his flock, to whom he had ministered for 37 years; that he fell beside the cross he had erected; that he received more than a thousand wounds; and that the Indians buried him next day in the very place where the evening before he had celebrated the sacred mysteries, where the altar had stood, and where the church had been burned, kissing the dear remains of their beloved pastor, with every mark of sincere affection, around whose body 7 warriors had fallen, desirous of saving his more precious life by a generous sacrifice of their own.

The scenes at Norridgewock struck great terror into the hearts of the Indians. They removed further back into the interior forests, and afterwards appeared only in small parties. The colonial government offered γ 100 for each Indian scalp; this bounty, together with present insecurity and a remembrance of former sufferings, induced many bold adventurers to try what fortune would bequeath them in pursuit after the enemy.

Among these adventurers, no one was more distinguished either for his success or his calamity than Capt. John Lovewell, of Dunstable. His native town had lately lost

several of its inhabitants. In searching after two who were missing, 9 more out of 11 were killed, on the 5th of September, 1724. Others fell into ambush, and were either killed or wounded. Irritation daily increased.

Capt. Lovewell's company consisted of 30 men. In the first excursion, they killed one savage, and took a boy alive, whom they carried to Boston, where they received the bounty and some handsome presents besides. This good fortune was the means of increasing his company to 70 men; but a want of provisions compelled them to dismiss 30 of these. Following the track of some Indians, on the 20th of February, at night, they found ten of them asleep around a fire beside a frozen pond.—Capt. Lovewell's own gun killed two as they lay asleep, and his men 5 more; two others were shot dead as they started up; and one ran off wounded in such a manner that a dog held him fast, till the men coming up put an end to his life. These savages were on their way from Canada to the English settlements, furnished with new guns and a plenty of ammunition. They were supplied with spare blankets, mockasins and snowshoes for the use of those whom they expected to take captive. This action took place in the town of Wakefield, Newhampshire.

Capt. Lovewell, encouraged by his late success, went on a third expedition, intend-

ing to make an assault on Pigwacket, near the head of Saco River, now within the town of Frieburgh : he had 42 men, besides a chaplain and a surgeon. One of the company becoming sick, they erected a stockade fort, at which the surgeon and 8 men were left as a guard, west of great Offapy pond. Reduced to 34, they proceeded northward 22 miles further. Early on the morning of the 8th of May, 1725, while at their devotions, they heard a gun, and saw an Indian on a point of land, by a pond, at the distance of a mile. Apprehending he was placed there as a decoy, they approached him with great caution. Expecting to encounter a very powerful party, they concealed their packs among the trees and brakes of a pitch pine plain. A party of 40 Indians in passing along their carrying place, had perceived their tracks. When they came to their packs, by counting they soon discovered that the number of their enemies was inferior to their own.

By this time, the Indian at the point was returning to the village, when the English shot and wounded him. He in his turn fired his gun, which had been loaded with shot for a flock of ducks, and wounded Capt. Lovewell. The next discharge brought the Indian to the ground. Taking his scalp, they proceeded till they fell into the ambush the party of savages had

laid for them. Firing began on both sides, when soon Capt. Lovewell and 8 men were killed on the spot, and 3 men more wounded. Several of the savages also fell. They now endeavored to surround the English, which was prevented by a retreat. They now took shelter behind the point of a rock projecting into the pond, and behind some large pine trees on a sandy beach. There was no further retreat. Here their chaplain and 3 others were mortally wounded. The Indians now tried to terrify them by horrid yells, and now invited them to surrender by holding up ropes to them. They had now fought from 10 o'clock in the morning, till towards night. They had thinned the number of their enemies, and by continuing to fire they showed no disposition to yield. Just before night, the savages quitted their advantageous ground, carrying off their dead and wounded, without scalping any of the English. Of the latter, 3 were not able to move from the spot ; 11 were wounded ; and 9 were unhurt.

They were under the dreadful necessity of leaving their dying companions behind. Lieutenant Robbins desired to have his gun left charged, that he might kill one more of them, should they return before he died. By the light of the moon, they made the best of their way to the fort. This they found deserted, one man having fled at the beginning of the fatal battle, and carried

the news of what had taken place. A few of the wounded perished in the woods. A generous provision was made for the support of the widows and children of those who had been killed. Col. Tyng of Dunstable went to the spot, buried their bodies, and, in 1784, their names were to be seen carved on the trees on the spot, commemorative of one of the fiercest battles ever fought with the original natives.

The Marquis Vaudreuil fearing the relations of peace between England and France would be soon disturbed by encouraging further depredations; it being made to appear by his own letters now produced in evidence against him, what a secret and ungenerous part he himself had acted, he consented to treat of peace, and to restore the captives the savages had taken, which put an end, in 1725, to this cruel and bloody war.

CHAPTER X.

A long peace. War in 1744. Louisburgh taken. Indian depredations. Exploits of Charles Stevens. Indians less ferocious in war. Colonies unite. French plan of forts. Mrs. Johnson. Three expeditions. Mrs. Howe. Fort William Henry taken. William Pitt. English successes. Quebec taken. Canada conquered by the English. St. Francis taken. Return from captivity, 1760.

A LONG peace with the Indians had succeeded. The diminution of their numbers by former wars, by retreat into the wilderness, by want, by despair and by sickness, greatly contributed to produce this effect. The judicious establishment of trading houses, though a kind of tribute by losses sustained in trade, yet was highly beneficial by preventing impositions upon the savages, and thus prolonging a state, which had become so necessary to the eastern colonies.

The conflicts, however, of European states could not fail to affect the American colonies. In 1744, war was again proclaimed between England and France, which was certain to involve the English colonies in a war with their neighbors, the

French, aided by the savages, who were still under their influence.

A plan was now adopted, which had been often tried before, to carry the war into the French territory, and to find the enemy full employment, without leisure to make any attacks upon the English frontiers. A vote was carried in Massachusetts, by a majority of one, to invade Louisburgh, which has been styled, "*the Dunkirk of America.*" That fortress had employed French troops, at an immense expense, for 25 years. But, in 1745, colonial troops of 3800 men gained a glorious victory, and by decoys took rich prizes to the amount of 3 millions of dollars. The next year, a powerful French fleet came to pour destruction on all New England. But misfortunes multiplied, sickness wasted, and God blew with his wind, and they were scattered. In 1755, the French were driven from Nova Scotia, and vast numbers were transported to New England, where they died, like exiles, in despair.

In the mean time, the Indians had not only aided their French allies, but also had begun their usual work of death and depredation on the frontiers. Troops indeed had been sent for the defence of the inhabitants, forts erected and garrisons maintained ; but all were incompetent for security against all the small parties of the enemy, whose assaults were more fatal, because unforeseen.

Minute accounts of these depredations would comprife many volumes. They bore a refemblance to one another in their general features. By a description of one war, we may obtain a very correct idea of all others. They are made up of terror and death, of waite and captivity, of individual fufferings and public loffes. Houses were fo many garrifons ; dangers were in the fields ; the fire fide felt alarms ; the nights were fleeplefs ; property was no where fecure ; and to ftep out of doors was to meet death.

In July, 1745, the favages took at Westmoreland William Phips, while hoeing his corn. Two favages carried him up a hill, when one returning back for new plunder, he killed his keeper with his hoe, and fhot the other as he came back, but afterwards fell a victim to 3 others.

Small parties of favages were fcattered in all the frontiers. Many perfons were flain, and more were carried into Canada, and afterwards thofe who furvived were redeemed, and fent to Bofton.

After feveral attacks on Charlestown in New-Hampfhire, they were bold enough to proceed to Rochefter, 20 miles from Portsmouth, where they found 5 men armed in a field. They fired one gun in order to induce the Englifh to difcharge theirs, which ftratagem fucceeded. The white people then retreated to a deferted houfe, which

they shut against their pursuers. The savages then tore off the roof of the house, when with their guns and tomahawks they dispatched 4 and wounded the other, when they proceeded to new mischiefs.

On the 4th of April, 1747, a large party of French and Indians made a fierce attack on Charlestown, which was as bravely defended by Capt. Charles Stevens with 30 men. From this man's exploit the town, formerly called Number Four, received his christian name. The barking of dogs made an early discovery of the approach of the enemy, who fired upon the fort on all sides. With a high wind, a fire was set to the log houses and fences communicating with the fort. By digging trenches under the walls, the fire was extinguished as it approached them. Flaming arrows shot against it were equally without effect. Accompanied with frightful yellings, this mode of attack continued two days and two nights. A new attempt was then made to communicate fire to the fort by advancing a cart with dried faggots against it. The enemy now offered terms of surrender, which were no milder than captivity in Montreal, and death in the event of having killed a man. To the question of M. Debeline, the French commander, whether his men dared to fight any longer, Capt. Stevens and his men unanimously agreed on an answer in the affirmative. Yells and firing

continued the next day and night. The enemy then offered to withdraw, if Stevens would sell them provisions, which he refused, as being an act contrary to the law of nations. After a few more shots, the enemy was seen no more. Not one was killed in the fort ; and Capt. Stevens was complimented with an elegant sword, as a testimony of respect for his perseverance and bravery.

Captives began to be treated with more mildness ; and the high price of redemption was about to make it a matter of interest to preserve life. At Keene, an Indian had taken a captive, and had granted him quarters. While the savage was binding him, he seized the Indian's gun, and shot him in the arm. The savage took no other revenge than giving him a kick, asking, "*you dog ! how could you treat me so ?*"

During several years, there was a cessation of direct hostilities resembling a peace. Advantage was taken of this quiet season to extend the settlements, and to increase the population on the Northern frontiers. More encouragement was given by government and greater zeal exerted on account of the apprehensions that the French might be the first to take possession of the contested and vacant territory. Large settlements were soon effected on the rich intervalles of the Coos country. The Indians saw these encroachments with a jealous eye. They

did not content themselves longer with remonstrances and threats.

Among the multitudes carried into captivity to Canada was John Starks. As soon as they had taken him, the savages whipped him severely for the escape of his brother, to whom he had given a seasonable alarm. But no sooner had he arrived at their tribes than they put on him their best dress, and adopted him as a child. This, however, only prepared him for being a distinguished officer in the future partisan wars against them.

By the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, the eastern conquests had been restored. Means were used to connect by forts their northern provinces to Louisiana by way of the lakes and the Mississippi, which would invest the English colonies. In order to prevent this great and dangerous plan, no time was lost in levying powerful armies, which might be able to set some bounds to the ambition of an artful rival. The compact, which united all the American colonies, was agreed to on the memorable 4th of July, 22 years before the declaration of the independence of the United States.

Indian depredations on the English frontiers were to the French a very cheap method of carrying on the war. The price for the redemption of captives and the booty taken were ample rewards to the savages. These now felt an interest in saving alive

their prisoners; and their incursions of course became less bloody, as well as more captives were made.

Among the numerous assaults made to seize captives was that on Charlestown, before the people were awake in the morning. Among ten, who were carried away captive, was Mrs. Johnson, who had a daughter, named "*Captive*," born on the 2d day of their journey. With great humanity, the savages halted one day on her account, and then carried her on a litter. Afterwards they set her on a horse, which they were soon compelled to eat for want of other provisions, sucking pieces of which principally supported the babe. It was after a long series of great trials, that they were exchanged.

In 1755, three expeditions, were made against the French forts. That on the Ohio against Fort du Quesne met with a disastrous defeat, in which General Braddock was slain. That against Niagara by Shirley miscarried; and that against Crown-point, although the French and Indians at Fort Edward had been defeated, did little more than exasperate the savages against the frontiers.

The Canadian Indians found an easy passage up the St. Francis river, on which resided a numerous tribe, whence by short carrying places they used to go down the Connecticut river. In one of these excu-

sions, Mrs. Howe of Hinsdale, now Vernon, was taken captive, who made a splendid figure in the narratives of those days. She was carried to Canada, and afterwards employed in a French family, where both the father and the son fell in love with the fair captive. The father had a wife, who, together with the chill of years, left him in less danger from the the fiery darts of Cupid, while Mrs. Howe was not so obliging as Dido. When she was exchanged, and passed across Lake Champlain under the kind protection of Major Putnam, the son still followed her in all the frenzy of his passion. He threw himself into the Lake, swam after the boat which conveyed her away ; and whether the chill waters extinguished his passion or his life, it has never been ascertained.

Indian depredations continued indeed, but their numbers were diminished on account of the savages having joined the army under General Montcalm at the forts near Lake Champlain. The colonial troops had occupied fort William Henry, near Lake George. Though invested by a strong force under Montcalm, the English made a brave defence against the united forces of the French and the Indians, till their ammunition being expended, they were forced to capitulate. The people in the fort were not to serve against the French for 18 months, were to march out with the hon-

ors of war, and with a safe escort were to proceed with their baggage to fort Edward. The Indians, accustomed to receive the plunder and redemption money as their wages of warfare, were offended at these terms. The prisoners marching out unarmed, the Indians fell upon them, stripped them naked, and murdered those who resisted. The extent of this massacre, which General Montcalm was unable or too tardy to prevent, may be conceived from this circumstance, that out of the New-Hampshire regiment of 200 men, 120 only escaped this horrid destruction.

Hitherto the war had been disastrous to the English colonies; but, in 1759, the decisive councils of the illustrious Pitt gave a new turn to the fortunes of America as well as of the world. Ticonderoga and Crownpoint were soon reduced by General Amherst; the French fort at Niagara surrendered to General Johnson; and the strong city of Quebec was taken in September by storm when the brave General Wolfe became immortal by his valor and by his fall in the very lap of victory, which gave decision to the destinies of North America.

The Indian village of St. Francis had long been the seat of captivity, whence a large proportion of all the expeditions against the English had been made. 200 rangers were sent to chastise them. At night, they came within 3 miles of the

village, which was now plainly to be seen from the top of a tree. The next morning the attack was made, while the inhabitants were yet asleep. The evening before, it had been reconnoitered by Major Roberts in disguise, who found the savages engaged in a grand dance. Posting the men to the best advantage, very little resistance could be made. Some were killed in the houses ; while the others were shot, or tomahawked as they fled. The light of day disclosed scenes of horror as well from what they themselves had occasioned as from the English scalps which had been hoisted up on poles, hundreds of which now waved in the wind.

This village had been enriched by plunder from the English and from the sales of many captives. It had a rich Roman Catholic church, adorned with plate, and the private houses were well furnished. Two hundred guineas, a silver image of 10 pounds in weight, as well as much wampum and clothing were brought away, and the village itself left in ashes. The English, attacked in their retreat, lost 7 men. The rest took different routes on their return ; some perished with hunger ; some were lost in the woods ; and others, after incredible sufferings, found their way to the Upper Coos, bringing the redeemed from captivity.

Several massacres and spoliations after

this took place on the frontiers, chiefly on Connecticut river. But as the French colonies were subdued, and unable any more to instigate the savages, peace ensued, after dreadful ravages for the period of 15 years. It was a happy time, when captives returned from among frightful barbarians to the bosom of beloved friends ; when their fields could once more be tilled, without the apprehension of ambush, death, or captivity. This joy was heightened by the reflection, that the power of cruel enemies was broken forever ; and that no fear could be felt, that former alarms and suffering were likely ever to be again renewed, in any part of New-England.

CHAPTER XI.

Indians at the Westward troublesome. French plans of aggrandisement. Remonstrance to the French commandant on the Ohio. Embassy by George Washington. Virginian troops under his command. Defeats the enemy. Battle at Little Meadows. General Braddock arrives in America. Advice of Washington neglected. Battle near fort du Quesne. Braddock defeated and slain. Retreat effected by the military skill of Washington. Presages of him, 1755.

TEN years before the conclusion of the last French war in America, which terminated in the complete conquest of Canada, the Indians were incessantly carrying waste and death into all the English settlements on the frontiers, from Canada on the North to Louisiana on the south. At that time, aiming at universal dominion on both continents, France had begun her system of aggrandizement in North America by establishing a line of forts, and by encouraging early settlements from the lakes down the Mississippi to a vast extent. She had early seen and adopted the barbarous policy of engaging the numerous tribes of savages in her wars and in her interests.

The claims of the English, whose charters included regions extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans, necessarily interfered with the claims derived from the right of discovery by La Salle of vast territories lying north and south to an extent equally extravagant. The French designed to confine the English to the lands east of the Alleghany mountains; while the English perceived not only the excessive ambition of a powerful rival, but also their danger from being thus completely environed. The disparity of their national strength in America was very great; the English being reckoned considerably more than a million of people, while the French could number about 50 thousand only. The latter possessed the great advantage of having all her provinces united under one governor, and having engaged in her interest all the tribes of Indians, except the 5 nations; while the English, divided into many distinct colonies, had no means of efficient union, their strength being weakened by the multiplicity of objects, to which it was directed.

The dreadful incursions of the Indians all along the western frontiers had become intolerable. It was necessary to begin the work of resistance by a remonstrance to be made to the French commandant on the river Ohio. Several are said to have declined a message so full of labors and per-

ils. It was no easy thing to pass more than 300 miles through a wilderness, into the midst of savages, across rapid rivers, elevated mountains, and at the approach of winter, carrying too a disagreeable burthen of complaints to a people already exasperated.

Major George Washington, who afterwards led his countrymen to independence and empire, undertook this difficult embassy, carrying a letter of remonstrance to the French commandant, requiring him to withdraw the French forces from the dominions of his Britannic majesty. It was not indeed to be expected, that the French would relinquish the plan, on the execution of which all their ambitious hopes were placed. In this tour, the military genius of Washington, at the age of 20, began to discover itself in discerning the commanding situation of the point of land, where the fort of Du Quesne, now Pittsburgh, was soon after built.

Col. Washington was soon placed at the head of 400 men, whom Virginia had raised to defend the rights of the English. In the course of their march to the confluence of the rivers Alleghany and Monongahela, he met and defeated the forces composed of Indians and French under Capt. Dijonville, taking and killing 31 men. He hastened on towards the place of destination, till he arrived at the Little Meadows, where he

built a stockade fort, called "*Necessity*," waiting to be joined by the forces from New-York and Pennsylvania, who left him, however, to contend alone with the enemy. In this situation, he was attacked by 4 times his own number of troops, composed of Indians and French. The battle continued 3 hours ; 200 of the enemy were slain ; when Count de Villiers sent a flag of truce to Col. Washington, extolling the bravery of the youth, and suggesting that neither courage nor skill can always succeed against numbers, he offered the most honorable terms of capitulation.

A more effective and formidable force was now preparing. The colonies had formed into an union, by which means they became more powerful by acting in concert. General Braddock had in June, 1755, arrived at Alexandria in Virginia with 2000 regular troops from Great Britain, to whom about 800 provincials were added. Col. Washington had relinquished the command of the latter, in order to become, on account of his superior acquaintance with the country to every other person, the aid de camp of the general. The army had passed the mountains, and arrived within 7 miles of fort Du Quesne. To this place they had marched unmolested, except by deep rivers, steep mountains, pathless forests and natural impediments. Washington, not yet recovered from severe

indisposition on the way, had but just joined the army. Though young in years, yet old in experience, he had ventured, with great modesty, to intimate to the general, what kind of troops he had to encounter ; that they were used to effect by ambush what they dared not attempt by open force ; and that the enemy would be wholly invisible, till there should be great certainty of the fatal execution of their purposes. He advised, therefore, to prevent surprisal by sending the provincial troops on scouting parties, since they were better acquainted with the Indian mode of warfare. The veteran general could not easily conceive, that his European troops, bred up in arms, could be inferior on any service.

With sentiments of contempt for the enemy, he had crossed the Monongahela, and was pressing forward almost in sight of Du Quesne. Entering a thick woodset with high grass, the front of his army was suddenly attacked, but still no enemy was to be seen. The fall of the commander of the enemy's troops, and the arrangement of the main body of the English army produced at length a momentary cessation of battle. It was soon renewed with increased vigor. Astonished at the fury of the onset, as well as surprisèd at the novelty of the scene, the veteran troops were thrown into confusion. Totally unacquainted with this new mode

of warfare, full of courage, but not quick to adapt new measures to new circumstances, Braddock endeavored to form his broken troops on the same ground, amidst a most tremendous discharge of musketry, by which every officer on horseback, except Mr. Washington, was either killed or wounded. The general himself, after having 3 horses shot under him, at an early period of the battle, received a mortal wound. Still beholding from his litter the wonders wrought by Washington and his provincial blues, the general about to die expressed the strongest desires to live, in order that he might reward such heroic conduct.

The skill and courage of Washington, now 23 years of age, were the means of saving the remainder of the army by a well conducted retreat. 64 officers out of 85, and 1400 men, about half of the army, were now no more. The rivers flowed with blood, and the woods were loaded with heaps of the dead. General Braddock was removed on a tumbril, and lived to reach the camp at fort Dunbar, where the severity of his wounds put an end to his life. The whole force of the assailants was computed at 300 men only, who succeeded in taking the artillery, the military stores of the English army, and even the private cabinet of the general, which contained his commission.

Col. Washington received well earned laurels for his skill and heroism on this occasion. The distinguishing part he acted placed him in the midst of every danger. 4 bullets pierced his clothes. One Indian with his rifle, it is said, shot at him 17 times. Even at that period, many with prophetic eye thought they saw in him the presage of a character, which was one day to be glorious beyond the rest of his contemporaries.

CHAPTER XII.

Relief to the frontiers afforded by Col. Washington. Battle at Etchoe. Col. Grant's victory. Fort Du Quesne taken. Revolutionary war. British employ the Indians. Pitt opposes the measure. Its inhumanity and impolicy. Massacre of Miss M'Crea. Tories. Battle at Wyoming. Colonels John and Zebulon Butler. Massacre at Kingston. At Wilkesbarre. Successes over the Indians. St. Vincent taken by colonel Clarke, 1779.

UPON the defeat of general Braddock, the Indians assumed new courage. The distresses of the country were great. The advanced settlers, leaving their homes and their little all to the power of the enemy, were driven back with their families, in great distress, into the older settlements. Many began to fear even for the sea coasts.

During these scenes of trial, col. Washington was in the midst of the sufferings and the perils of his countrymen, active in defence, advising the means, and consoling where he had not the power of relieving. It was his plan to carry war to the fire sides of the enemy ; and by finding them employment at home to prevent their making their dreadful excursions abroad.

The western Indians generally adopted the plan of the eastern in going in small parties to war. Sometimes, however, it was otherwise; and col. Montgomery, in the battle at Etchoe with the Cherokees, could not boast of a victory, which he dared not pursue. Col. Grant, on the 7th of June, 1761, was more successful over the same powerful tribe. After a severe battle, which lasted 7 hours, the savages began to give way, when fire was set to the town of Etchoe, and, all the towns of the middle settlements being reduced to ashes, they sued for peace.

The taking possession of fort Du Quesne in 1760 by col. Washington, when the French set sail for Louisiana, served, however, to diminish the number of Indian depredations. The revolutionary war likewise, which separated the colonies from Great Britain, commenced in 1776, which gave a new turn to the tide of events.

The British now endeavored to conciliate the savage tribes, and to engage them in their service. What they had so long condemned in the French nation, the British began themselves to put into practice. Several tribes entered into their service. A member of parliament said, they had a right to all "*the means which God and nature had put into their hands.*" To prevent such horrid sentiments from polluting the nation, Lord Chatham arose in all his majesty, and

in a strain of unequalled eloquence, protested against letting loose the savages in America upon their English protestant brethren. This speech alone, fraught with benevolence, honor, eloquence and christian feelings will raise to the memory of his illustrious virtues an imperishable monument of fame.

Of the policy, as well as of the right of employing the cruel and ungovernable savages, even in cases of self defence, doubts may be justly entertained. The several tribes which were employed, during the revolutionary war, as well by the Americans as by the British, did not answer the expectations of either. In cases of extreme sufferings and dangers, when most wanted, they deserted the cause they had agreed to support.

Their employment gave rise to some of the most tragical scenes which imagination can paint, as well in the army of Burgoyne as in that of St. Leger. The case of Miss M'Crea, in 1777, excited sentiments of universal commiseration for her fate, as well as of detestation for those monsters who contributed to the catastrophe.

This young lady, distinguished not less for her amiable qualities than for her beauty, resided at fort Edward, 50 miles north of Albany. A young British officer, Mr. Jones, had paid attention to her with sentiments which neither length of time, nor

distance of place could erase from his mind. Before the consummation of vows of mutual attachment and fidelity could be effected, the service of his country called him into Canada, at the commencement of the revolutionary war.

When general Burgoyne with his army made his appearance within the United States, which proved fatal to him and his followers, he had halted within 3 miles of fort Edward, on which an assault was now meditated. The attack of an army like that, composed of a thousand discordant elements, not only made up of Hessians and Canadians, but also of numerous frightful savages, might prove fatal alike to all within reach of their arms. All communication with the provincials was forbidden and partook of the nature of treason. The lover was too near the place which contained the richest treasure of his heart not to be affected with the vestiges of his former flame, or to remain unconcerned for her safety. Amidst all the dangers of arrests, love, which is fruitful in expedients, had found means to convey into the fort a letter, which assured her of safety, advised her not to retire, noticed that his interest would procure protection for the family, and that the surrender of the place would only hasten the welcome hour of a legitimate union for life.

The families in the fort, which had no such assurances of favor, nor could con-

tribute to defence, were now retiring in every direction for shelter and safety. The family of the young lady could use no arguments cogent enough to persuade her to go with them. With a servant girl, she waited for the moment when her lover should come to convey her away to some peaceful asylum, where the marriage ceremony might be performed. She was even dressed for the wedding, and looking every moment to see the young gentleman appear, to whom she had long since given her heart.

In the mean time, the anxious lover could find no means himself of approaching the fort of an enemy without the imputation of a traitorous correspondence. In this dilemma, he hired an Indian chief to go and bring her away on a horse sent for the purpose. The Indian came to the fort, held up a letter for Miss M'Crea from her lover before her window, which explained what had happened, and gave new assurances of her most perfect safety. Her maid uttered nothing but shrieks and cries at the sight of the terrific savage; but the young lady's faith was as strong as her love. She set out without the least hesitation. They had but 3 miles to go, in order to reach the place of destination. One half of this distance was now passed over in perfect safety. The most pleasant anticipations began to take the place of anxious feelings, now almost come within sight of the expect-

ed paradise, to which she deemed herself hastening. Here, they were met by another Indian chief, who had heard of the price offered for bringing her safely to the raptured lover. A dispute now arose, which, by conveying her there, should possess the reward. A violent contention arose between the savages, and neither would yield in favor of the other. Seeing no end to the dispute, one of the chiefs sunk a hatchet into the head of Miss M'Crea, which brought her to the ground from her horse; and the savages laid the bleeding scalp of this beautiful lady at the feet of her expecting lover. For a time, delirium seized the senses of the young officer, and general Burgoyne hurried away the guilty to punishment.

In 1778, an Indian war raged from the Mohawk to the Ohio river. The great seat of sufferings was that of Wyoming, on each side of the Susquehannah, which was principally settled by emigrants from the state of Connecticut, which laid claims to the territory by right of purchase from the original natives. Troops had been ordered for their aid; but the difficulty of raising enough for the extraordinary calls of that trying period had prevented the execution of the design. The fires of civil discord had begun to kindle. Many of the tories had retired to the English; others had joined even the savages; and were engaged in leading them against their own brethren.

On the first of July, about sixteen hundred

Indians, and Tories painted like Indians, with col. John Butler at their head, made an assault on the settlement at Wyoming. One of the forts, designedly manned with Tories, was soon delivered up without opposition. The fort at Kingston was defended by col. Zebulon Butler. Invited out to a parley, col. Z. Butler with 400 men was led into an ambush by the treachery of his cousin, col. J. Butler, the result of which was, that of the 400, only 20 escaped.

The fort at Kingston was immediately invested. In order to terrify them into a surrender, the green and bleeding scalps of their countrymen were stuck up on poles, flying in the wind. Col. Z. Butler with his family having withdrawn down the river, a flag was sent to ask the terms of capitulation. A savage answered in two words, "*the hatchet.*" Compelled at length to surrender, the savage kept his word. Selecting a few favorites, not one of the rest escaped. Shut up within their houses, a fire was set to them, which ended the catastrophe.

Wilkesbarre fort shared the same fate; except 70 continental soldiers, who were hacked into pieces. During these calamities, about 3000 inhabitants had fled into the older settlements. To prevent their return, the Indians destroyed all before them, and burned every house, except those belonging to the Tories. "*These houses appeared as islands in the midst of surrounding ruins.*"

Colonels Hartly and Z. Butler soon, however, exerted themselves to raise new troops, penetrated into Indian villages, consumed their dwellings, destroyed their corn, and compelled the savages to retire back into the 'wilderness, where future incursions would be more difficult and less frequent.

In February, 1779, col. G. R. Clarke accomplished with great success an important enterprise. Col. Hamilton was, at this time, the British governor at Detroit, and had gone to St. Vincent with 600 men, mostly Indians. These were to be sent against the forts at Kaskaskias and Pittsburgh, after which they were to desolate the extensive frontiers of Virginia. Hamilton, considering himself as perfectly secure at the remote post of St. Vincent, had retained only 80 regulars. Col. Clarke, made acquainted with what had passed, with 130 men, in the midst of winter, marched for 19 days through regions deemed hitherto impassable, and sat down before the fort of St. Vincent. The surprise was complete; and Hamilton, soon finding resistance to be vain, surrendered himself and garrison as prisoners of war. The consequences were important. It ruined the plans against the frontiers; detached the Indians from the British, whose cause was thus declining; and contributed to extend the western boundaries of the United States.

CHAPTER XIII.

Expedition of col. Van Schaick. Of general Sullivan. Battle on the Wyoming. Irruption of col. Bird with his savages. Victory near Lexington. Creeks sue for peace. Losses on the Ohio. General Harmar's expedition. Inconsiderable successes of General Scot and general Wilkinson, 1791.

WHILE the American troops lay at fort Schuyler, a successful expedition, planned by general Schuyler, was executed by col. Van Schaick against the villages of the nearest of the 6 nations, about 90 miles distant. On the 19th of March, 1779, he set off with about 600 men for Anondagas, their principal settlement. Such was the secrecy and dispatch used, that the towns of 8 miles in extent were invested, before many of the savages could escape. 12 Indians were killed; and 34 made prisoners. Their stock of cattle was destroyed, and their houses burned. Their provisions were consumed, and 100 guns broken. The Americans lost not a single man; and the colonel received the thanks of congress.

During the same year, the cruelties exercised on Wyoming and other places led to

an expedition against the savages. General Sullivan went up the Susquehannah into the country of the Senekas, where no troops had ever before penetrated. The army was successful in the several engagements with the enemy. But the heavy baggage to be carried, the slowness of the march through the wilderness, and a final want of provisions enabled the troops to effect little more than to distress the savages by burning their dwellings, and cutting down their fields of corn.

In this expedition, the greatest engagement was at Newtown on the Wyoming. The Indians being about 1000 in number with about 200 tory Indians commanded by the two Butlers, Johnson, M'Donald and Brendt, endeavored to draw the Americans into an ambush, but did not succeed. The consequence was a victory on the side of the Americans. Two divisions had now traced the western country; and although the savages retired before them, yet their fertile country was laid waste, and they were treated with uncommon severity. No vestige of human industry was suffered to remain; not a fruit tree was left standing; 18 villages were consumed; 160,000 bushels of corn were destroyed; and, the whole country being uninhabitable, the savages were compelled to retire further back into the wilderness.

Numerous were the engagements with

the enemy. On the 22d of June, 1780, 500 Indians and Canadians under Col. Bird attacked the stations of Riddle and Martin and the Forks of Licking river. They took all the inhabitants, and tomahawked those, who were too weak to carry the heavy baggage which was imposed upon them. General Clarke at Miami soon chastised the savages, took 70 scalps, and burned their town.

On the 15th of August, 1782, about 500 Indians made an assault on Briant's station, within 5 miles of Lexington in Kentucky. After having killed all the cattle in the vicinity, they were repulsed, and 80 of their number were killed upon the spot. Innumerable were the ravages of these sons of ruin.

In 1790, some of the Indians, tired of wars, of which they saw no end, began to turn their thoughts on peace. Among these was the Creek nation, who had sent for the purpose the noted M'Gillivray and other chiefs to New-York, which mission terminated in a treaty of peace.

Overtures for peace made to the savages on the Wabash and Miami were not equally successful. From the time of the cessation of arms between England and the United States in 1783 to 1790, on the territory south of the Ohio only, it has been calculated, that 2000 horses had been taken, property worth 50,000 dollars had been carried

away, and 1500 persons killed, wounded, or captivated.

The congress of the United States had agreed on an expedition to the Scioto and Miami villages, in order to destroy them, as the savages had proceeded lately so far as to kill even the messengers of peace sent into that country. 320 regulars and 1133 militia, with General Harmar at their head, composed the army. On the 30th of September, they moved for the upper Miami. Col. Hamden was detached with 600 men to reconnoiter. As they approached, the Indians set fire to their own buildings, and retired.

About 10 miles west of Chilicothe, they were brought to action. The militia, scarcely firing a gun, threw down their arms and ran away. The few regulars left made a brave stand; of these 23 were killed, and 7 made their escape. The main army, however, proceeded to destroy and burn the Indian villages. A second detachment of 360 men met with little better success. The militia in part retrieved their character; but sometimes they left their officers wholly unsupported. The victory was doubtful; or purchased at a great price; out of 60 regulars, 8 only survived; while the militia lost more than 100 men, besides 9 officers. The survivors soon made their way back to fort Washington. The savages appeared to entertain a

sovereign contempt for the militia ; but with great intrepidity they threw themselves upon the bayonets even of the regulars, and overwhelmed them by numbers.

In May, 1791, General Scott went into the Wabash country with 850 troops. He destroyed the towns of Ouiattanau, Kethlipecanunk and several other villages. 32 men, chiefly warriors of size and figure, were killed, and 58 made prisoners.

In the autumn of the same year, general Wilkinson was sent on another expedition. Those who went found their own horses and provided for themselves, at no small expense to the government which employed them. They proceeded also to the Wabash country, where they found the corn replanted on the very grounds, where it had been destroyed in the spring. The chief town of the Ouiattanau nations was consumed ; the sons and sisters of the king were among the captives ; a village 3 miles in length was burned ; 430 acres of corn in the milk were cut down ; while the savages, without homes, provisions and horses, were reduced, at the approach of winter, to very great distresses. These excursions, however, had very little influence upon the war. The fear too of the increasing numbers of the enemy made a speedy return home very desirable to the soldiers. The great expenses attending the expedi-

tion were among its most prominent features. When they returned home, each of these generals left a very good *talk* for the consideration of the savages.

CHAPTER XIV.

Appointment of general Arthur St. Clair. His expedition. His troops desert. Battle near the Miami villages. Bravery of the Indians. Defeat of General St. Clair. American losses. Death of general Butler. General Scott's successes. A view of the field of battle, 1791.

THE savages being emboldened rather than subdued, it became obvious that more effectual measures must be adopted in order to restrain their incursions and prevent their depredations on the defenceless. Arthur St. Clair was selected as a person qualified to take the command of a new army. Having been governor of the territory northwest of the Ohio, it was supposed that his influence over the inhabitants and his more intimate acquaintance with the country would be of peculiar use. He had served too as an officer of the revolutionary army ; and, though he had never distinguished himself, yet it was conceived, that to military skill he could add the advantages to be derived from experience.

Late in the autumn of 1791, the army was prepared to act. The objects to be effected were, to destroy the Miami villages,

to drive away the savages, and to prevent their return by establishing a chain of forts connected with the Ohio country. About the last of October, two forts, as places of security and deposit, were built towards the place of destination. An army of 2000 men now set forward into the wilderness. Compelled to open roads for their baggage and cannon, their progress was slow. A few hovering parties of the enemy, which were now and then to be seen, were sure to carry to their red brethren timely intelligence of what they had to expect. Before they had arrived at the end of their march, and dangers seemed to be near, about 60 of the militia deserted in a body. Fearing the example might become contagious, unless timely corrected, a whole regiment was detached, who pursued them without effecting their object.

Reduced to 1400 men, the army advanced within 15 miles of the Miami villages. The army encamped on commanding ground; general Butler on the right wing, with a creek in front 12 yards wide; col. Darke with the left formed the second line, covered by artillery and piquets; and a space of 70 yards was left between them; while the militia advanced 400 yards beyond the creek, where they encamped in two lines. A few Indians fled with great precipitation as soon as they were seen. It was intended to throw up a slight work, where

the baggage might be left, and whence they, when joined by the regiment left behind, might proceed with great celerity to the Miami villages.

The Indians did not wait for these tardy operations. About half an hour before sun rise, the next morning, the enemy attacked the advanced militia, the moment they were dismissed from the parade. These fled in utter consternation upon the regular troops, who had formed the moment the first gun was heard. The officers, who had seen service, used every effort to restore order and excite courage, but without effect; while the savages were pressing on at the very heels of the flying and affrighted militia. The firmness of general Butler did what man could do. In a moment, the whole army seemed enveloped in a blaze, and the rear as well as the front was attacked with great fury. The enemy was visible only, when he rose to fire, or to pursue. The cannon, therefore, were of little use; while the artilleryists, not possessed of other means of defence, became the principal objects of their irresistible fury, and were mowed down in a few moments. The ferocious savages rushed up to the very mouths of the field pieces, acting with the skill and intrepidity of those, whose trade is war.

The American officers made noble exertions, and suffered great losses. General Butler, although his leg had been broken

in the conflict, yet mounted his horse and directed the storm of war. General St. Clair, though unable through disease to mount his horse without aid, yet was in the midst of his men, giving his orders with great coolness, while his clothes were pierced with 8 balls. The concealment of the enemy behind trees or among bushes rendered a change of the mode of attack necessary. The Americans now rushed upon the Indians with fixed bayonets; before the force of these they were obliged to fly. The want of riflemen, however, rendered it impossible to press this advantage to any great extent. Whenever the Americans withdrew, they were sure to be pursued with great and often increased vigor. The left wing was broken, the artilleryists were killed, 7 cannon were taken, and the camp already penetrated by the ferocious enemy. A new charge was made with the bayonet, and the Indians were again driven back. But in every charge, the officers were sure to fall; and, if the attack were abated in one place, it was only to be renewed in another with more fatal effect. The soldiers now flocked together in crowds, as if there were a comfort in dying with multitudes. This, instead of adding to their security, only afforded the enemy a fairer opportunity to cut them down to greater advantage. After such a contest for 3 hours, and in such a state of things, nothing more was to

be done than to save the remnant of the army. By this time, however, they found that their retreat also was intercepted. The second regiment under Col. Darke succeeded at length in forcing a passage, when the army, covered by Major Clarke's battalion, betook themselves to the most disorderly flight. The speed of General St. Clair's wearied horse was not sufficient to enable him to keep up to give the usual orders. Intent on the spoils of the enemy, fortunately, the Indians did not pursue them far. Leaving their sick at the first fort, the Americans hurried on to one at a greater distance from the dreaded foe. They threw away even their arms. At night, they reached a fort at the distance of 30 miles through the woods from the scene of action.

In this disastrous battle, 38 commissioned officers were killed, and 21 wounded; 593 privates were killed, and 240 wounded. The savages have been estimated from 1500 to 4000, who were actually in this engagement. While the wounds of general Butler were dressing, an Indian chief broke through those who stood around the veteran and brave general, and stuck his tomahawk into him, before the troops could kill him. Seven cannon, all the baggage of the army and 200 oxen, besides a great number of horses, were taken.

In a few weeks, these misfortunes were

in part retrieved. 'The Indians, in the fullness of their triumph, were discovered diverting themselves with the plunder they had taken, riding the cattle, and mostly intoxicated with liquor. In this situation, general Scott fell upon them ; killed 200 upon the spot ; recovered the cannon, as well as most of the stores ; and, with the loss of 6 men only, returned in triumph to the fort. This general reviewed the field of the late dreadful battle. Hundreds of the mangled bodies of the slain strewed the ground ; while the woods and the roads towards the forts were covered with remains of human beings unburied, muskets thrown away, and promiscuous ruins.

CHAPTER XV.

Preparations for war slow. New attempts at peace ineffectual. General Wayne succeeds St. Clair. Plan of a new campaign. New forts built. British encourage the savages. New offers of peace. Strength and position of the forces. Battle on the Miamis of the lake. Victory of general Wayne. Indian villages destroyed. The return of peace, 1794.

THE several disasters and defeats experienced by the American troops were not calculated to inspire the minds of savages either with fear or respect, nor incline them to listen to overtures of peace. Hostilities had not abated among the north western Indians, and the friendship of the southern was more than suspected. Partisan wars, in which the savages excelled, were carried on against all the new settlements. Congress also seemed unwilling to increase the army. The law, which authorized the raising of troops, offered such inconsiderable inducements as well to officers as to men to engage in the service as well nigh to discourage all attempts at a levy. Nothing, of course, could be done, during the first season, but to make preparations with a most tardy progress.

Such other interesting events were taking place both in the relations of the United States and on the European continent as to place an Indian war among secondary objects of regard. Attempts were yet making to effect treaties with the several Indian tribes ; but all offers were rejected with disdain. At last, they proceeded so far as to put to death the ambassadors of peace, who had been sent into their country, till no hope of reconciliation could remain. Nor could a nation possessed of any spirit bear longer with the injuries which were offered it. Volumes could not recount all the massacres, ravages and miseries which the frontier towns endured. It was apparent, that something must be done, since forbearance became a new motive for new injuries.

Anthony Wayne had now succeeded St. Clair as general of the American army. The intelligence of the utter rejection by the tribes of savages of all pacific overtures was not received till September, 1794, when an eruption into the country of the enemy would be too late to promise much success. Preparations were made to achieve something effectual in the course of the season ensuing. 3000 American troops were already stretched along an extensive line. Kentucky was to furnish a proportion of men ; but these were willing only to turn out at the expense of the general government. The plan of the campaign was to

drive out the savages from their country, and, by a permanent line of forts from the Ohio, reaching to the lakes, to prevent their return.

The army, at length, marched 6 miles in advance of fort Jefferson, where they built fort Greenville, after which they proceeded to the spot where the Americans had been defeated under Arthur St. Clair in 1791, where they built fort Recovery. Being advanced within a short distance of the Indian villages, it was expected this advantage would arise, that no depredations would be hazarded against the American settlements, when influenced by fears nearer at home.

At the same time, the conduct of the British in Canada was not without suspicions, not only that they encouraged the savages, and supplied them with the means of warfare, but also that by a detention of the posts south of the great lakes, they intended in the end to lay new claims to enlarged territories. This jealousy was strengthened by the establishment of a new fort 50 miles still further south on the Miami of the lake, entering into lake Erie. New evidences were given of such intentions by finding English people among the Indian parties which were taken prisoners in several skirmishes with the enemy.

Influenced by such suspicions, general Wayne proceeded up Au Glaize and the

Miamis of the lake, and encamped near the British posts. The richest and the most extensive settlements were at this place. To defend these, the Indians had collected all their forces, amounting to nearly 2000 men. The continental troops were about equally numerous, while more than 1000 militia from Kentucky gave the Americans a great superiority.

It had been previously ascertained that the enemy was determined to give battle. But in order to exhaust all the means of reconciliation, a new messenger of peace was sent, to whom they returned an evasive answer. The Americans now advanced to the foot of the Rapids, where a temporary work was erected for the security of baggage. The Indians were found already encamped behind a thick wood and the English fort.

On the 20th of August, 1794, decisive movements were made. The Americans marched in columns; the right flank of the legion covered by the Miamis; one brigade of mounted volunteers on the left; and another in the rear. A select battalion marched in front to give timely notice of any ambush, or probability of action. The select battalion had not proceeded far, before it was attacked by a heavy fire from an invisible enemy, and compelled to retreat.

The Indians had taken a position almost

inaccessible to cavalry, on account of timber, which had been prostrated by a tornado. They had formed in 3 lines, with a very extended front, reaching 2 miles, in right angles with the river. Their object was to turn the left flank of the army.

The legion in two lines advanced with trailed arms, with the view of rousing the enemy from his coverts by the point of the bayonet, then to fire, and to pursue the flying foe without giving him time to load again. In case of the attempt of the Indians to turn the American left, the second line was directed to aid the first. The legion cavalry penetrated between the river and the Indians, in order to charge their left. By a circuit, the mounted volunteers were to turn their right. So entirely did the plan of the Americans succeed, that only a part could get into action. In one hour, the Indians were driven more than 2 miles through a thick wood, and the battle terminated within pistol shot of the British fort.

All their houses were burned, and their cornfields destroyed ; among the rest, the house and store of a British trader, who had exerted his influence to continue the war. On the return of the army, all the villages within 50 miles of Au Glaize were consumed, and other property destroyed. The number, on the American side, of the killed and wounded amounted to 107

men only. The enemy, it was allowed, lost more than twice that number. The savages were now willing to bury the hatchet of war, and smoke the pipe of peace.

CHAPTER XVI.

Indian ravages renewed. Arms loaned to Ohio. Indian confederacies. The Shawanese prophet. Governor Harrison marches against him. Parley. Encampment. Battle in the night. Major Davies killed. State of the army. Indians desire peace. New massacres near Vincennes. 1812.

THE hatred towards the Americans, entertained by the original natives since the first settlement of this country to the present period, continued for more than 300 years, with little intermission of hostilities, cannot be expected to cease but with the diminution of their power, or the extinction of their race.

During the summer of 1811, the western savages carried murders, waste and terrors into the new settlements in their vicinity, where the people were too remote from the white people to receive timely and adequate succors from their brethren. Depredations indeed had frequently been made, in no degree differing from the usual character, mode or miseries of Indian warfare; but now they had become too frequent and too atrocious to be any longer endured, while tardiness to chastise past injuries and insults

was considered by many as already criminal, and deemed an evident neglect of that great political duty, which is solicitous to extend equal protection to all.

The congress of the United States, foreseeing what would probably be the result of things, had passed a resolution, 18th of November, 1811, to loan arms, artillery and other instruments of defence to the state of Ohio, which being a new state and contiguous to the seat of hostilities would probably not only be the first and principal sufferer, but also less able to defend itself. The territory of Indiana was still younger among the federal sisters, and even more exposed. The whole militia of the Indiana territory cannot be supposed to exceed 3000 ; and in 1809 it amounted to 2067 only ; and these being less to be feared by being scattered over a large extent of country.

The Indians had formed extensive confederacies ; and they were using every effort to combine still more tribes in the premeditated attack on our frontier inhabitants. To their habitual hatred of the Americans they now joined the aid of superstition, to which of all people savages are most inclined. One of the chiefs of the Shawanoe tribe had made pretensions to the spirit of prophecy. However he might be wanting in the divine afflatus, he was not wanting in art. He made the prophet use-

ful to the man, and his inspiration subservient to the designs he wished to accomplish. To his countrymen he did not fail to prophesy smooth things, predicting the victories which would attend his arms, and promising to his followers the favor and patronage of the Great Spirit, which enthusiasts always think they have at their own command. In an ignorant people, credulity is increased in some proportion to the extravagance of claims; and even the wise Greeks could credit oracular responses, and the grave Romans decided the most interesting affairs of states by the direction, or rather by the contingences of omens, not less unworthy of belief than the pretensions of the Shawanese prophet. Like Mahomet too, he united the character of the warrior with the high claims of divinity.

His red brethren were also already inclined to credit any thing, which had a tendency to drive away the white people from lands which they themselves wished to possess, free from the dangers to be apprehended from a people who felt power, and too often had forgot right. The Shawanese tribe, to which the prophet belonged, however, was not to be greatly feared, as it could bring only 450 warriors into the field of battle. Confederacies only were to be feared, and they were increasing every day.

The attempts at reconciliation had be-

come ineffectual, the spirit of forbearance exhausted, new injuries inflicted, and the strength of the enemy increasing by gaining time, when governor Harrison of the Indiana territory marched against the Shawanese fanatic and his confederated followers. The American force consisted of some regulars, militia and volunteer companies raised from the adjacent states. These, proceeding from Vincennes for the Wabash, built a fort on the way for heavy baggage and provisions. After the usual occurrences of a march through the wilderness, on the 5th of November, 1811, they arrived within 11 miles of the prophet's town. The next day, a march for 6 miles was through prairies separated from each other by small points of woods.

The order of march was similar to that adopted by general Wayne ; but this was necessarily changed in order to conform to the nature of the ground, over which they had to pass. The day before the battle, few Indians were to be seen ; and these seemed to wish to avoid all intercourse. A flag was advanced towards the town, but was obliged to return, as the enemy manifested an intention to cut them off from the main army. Upon a further advance of the troops to Tippacanoë, 3 Indians, one of whom was in high estimation with the prophet, came to desire a parley, in which he expressed surprise at the sudden

appearance of an army. He alleged a previous agreement not to commence hostilities till an answer should have been returned through the Delawares and Miamis, who by another route were now on their way to Vincennes. When they were assured that no hostilities would now commence, if they would faithfully comply with the requisitions already made, they seemed satisfied ; and directed the governor to a place to encamp convenient for wood and water. The ground selected was a piece of elevated dry oak land, with prairies in front and rear, excellent for regulars, but affording great facility to the approach of savages. But no better was to be found.

Towards the left flank, this bench of high land, near which ran a small stream clothed with willows and other brush wood, widened considerably, but became gradually narrow in the opposite directions, at the distance of 150 yards from each other on the left and something more than half that distance on the right flank. These flanks were filled up, the first by two companies of 120 mounted riflemen under major Wells ; the other by Spencer's company of 80 mounted riflemen. The front was composed of one battalion of United States' infantry under major Floyd, flanked on the right by two companies of militia, and on the left by one company. The rear line was composed of a battalion of United

States' troops under captain Baen, acting as major, and four companies of militia infantry under lieutenant col. Decker. The regular troops of the line joined the mounted riflemen under major Wells on the left flank, and colonel Decker's battalion formed an angle with Spencer's company on the left. Two troops of dragoons of sixty men were encamped in the rear of the left flank, and captain Parke's troop, which was larger than the other two, in the rear of the front line. This order of encampment was varied only from the nature of the ground and from necessity.

Thus, they encamped for the night. The troops were arranged in the best order, ready for battle, with their accoutrements on ; their arms within their reach, and double guards set, who still proved very negligent of their duty. During the night, the order of encampment was the order of battle. A single file was used, as in an Indian warfare the extension of lines is of the first importance. It was usual at night to assemble all the officers, to give the watchword, and all necessary instructions ; and the troops were used to be called up before day, and made to continue under arms till quite light.

On the morning of the 7th of November, governor Harrison had arisen at a quarter past 4 o'clock. In two minutes more, the signal would have been given for

calling out the men, when the enemy began his fire. The guards first assaulted fired only a single gun, and fell back upon the camp. The yells of the savages breaking in upon the lines gave the first alarm to the main body of the army. Those awaked seized their arms ; while those more tardy had to encounter the Indians at the doors of their tents.

The first part of the storm fell upon the regulars and mounted riflemen, where the fire was uncommonly severe. Some Indians penetrated into the encampment a considerable way before they were killed. All the troops were in arms before they received the fire of the enemy, except the two first companies attacked. The morning was dark, it being also more than two hours before sunrise. The fires which were burning were soon extinguished, as they only served to direct the aim of the savages with a more fatal effect. The governor was instantly on horseback, giving his directions in every quarter ; and a good degree of order was maintained. Major Davies, the chief justice of the Indiana territory, as distinguished for his eloquence as eminent for his knowledge of law, was mortally wounded in a gallant attempt to drive back the enemy from a particular spot, whence their heaviest fire seemed to proceed. In a few minutes, the fire from the enemy extended all along the lines. The great object of

governor Harrison was to prevent the enemy from breaking the lines, till daylight should enable him to give a general battle. At the dawn of day, the lines were ably enforced, when the savages gave way, were driven by the infantry into the marshes, and pursued by the dragoons as far as the ground would permit.

Governor Harrison had positive orders not to be the aggressor, and this necessarily embarrassed his operations. His army consisted of about 800 men, although the previous talk was of 5000 men raised from the several adjacent territories. That of the enemy was not much less than the American actual force. The United States troops had 42 men killed, and 179 wounded. A large number of brave officers, some of the first characters of the Indiana territory fell, leaving large families in a state of indigence, towards whom the government of the United States has generously resolved to extend the public bounty. A Patawatimie chief left on the field of battle, whose wounds received every possible attention, was sent home to his tribe, which, he was satisfied, would never more wage war against the United States, and to the past aggressions they had been instigated by the deceptions practised on them by the prophet. Not one of our troops was taken prisoner, and only one scalp was carried away. The

Indians are said to have owned that 214 of their men were killed. The Americans acted with great bravery; and the fourth United States regiment of infantry of 300 men highly distinguished itself, of whom the loss in killed and wounded was 77.

The result of this expedition was an engagement, on the side of the Indians, of peace with the Americans. The Kickapoos, Winebagoes, Piankeshaws and Puttawattimies said, they would throw the tomahawk on the ground; and, in pity to their women and children, whom they loved as they did themselves, they would henceforth bury the war club.

To what extent these professions are sincere, time alone can evince. Doubts still remain, whether they are humbled, or disposed to a lasting peace. As lately as June 1812, they were still committing horrid massacres and pillage in many parts of the north western country within the United States. It is the opinion of many that the Indian war is only begun. The people on the frontiers, feeling no longer safety, are leaving in great distress the unprotected settlements, retiring into older towns, while even these are resorting to piquets, garrisons and forts for security.

Apprehensions are felt for the safety of Vincennes itself, to which governor Harrison and family had retired, with very inad-

equate forces, while all around it murders and ravages were committed ; and, no further than on the opposite side of the river, the distressing cries of “ *Indians ! Indians !* ” were distinctly to be heard.

CHAPTER XVII.

Indian affairs in Vermont. First settlement. Fort Dummer. Deerfield destroyed. Defeat of Dieskaw. Forts. Massacre at Castleton. Indian ravages. Royalton burned. Savages more humane. Indian fields. Arrow heads, mortars, pestles and utensils. Stone axes, hatchets, gouges, ornament and spear head. Calumet. Indian burying ground. Engravings and inscriptions. Painting. A curious Indian pot, and other antiquities of the original natives. Indian claims to the north western part of Vermont.

EVERY part of Vermont has, no doubt, been inhabited by the original natives. This section of the United States, however, was not settled by the English at the time when the savages carried murders and destruction into the other parts of New England.

The first English settlement in Vermont was at Brattleborough in the year 1724. A fort was built in that town, the pickets of which are yet to be seen. It was called fort Dummer after the governor, who was also the liberal founder of the academy in Byefield, a parish in Newbury in Massachusetts.

This fort, the only one west of Connecticut river, was nearly opposite to Bridgman's in Vernon, which was of great importance against the sudden irruptions of the savages, who should come down Connecticut river, or from lake Champlain. Near fort Dummer were several attacks made by the savages in 1745, the results of which were some murders and captivities.

The Indians were accustomed to travel through Vermont, when they made their depredations on the older New England settlements. In the assault on Deerfield, on the 29th of February, 1704, the French and Indians, conducted by de Rouville, passed from Canada through lake Champlain, up Onion river, and then went down Connecticut river to the place of destination. A previous assault upon this town in 1697 had failed. The forces now led against it consisted of about 300 men. Two hours before day the attack was made, while all the inhabitants were lost in sleep and dreams of security. One garrisoned house alone made a successful resistance; and the door is yet preserved bearing the marks of the Indian hatchets. 42 persons were murdered, among whom was Mrs. Williams, the clergyman's wife, who was knocked on head a few miles from the town, when it was found that she could not endure the fatigues of captivity. 112 were carried into Canada as prisoners. In

the retreat of the enemy, they were pursued without much effect, a few lives being lost on each side. The Indian and the French savages took the same route back, and were 25 days in reaching Chambly.

During the French wars, the Indians passed through lake Champlain and the western parts of Vermont. In the defeat at fort Edward, Dieskaw had brought with him from Canada 800 Indians.

In the time of the revolution in America, a fort was established at Pittsford connected by others to the lake, the region north of which fort was filled with scouting parties of tories, English and savages.

One of these parties, on the 8th of July, 1777, killed Capt. John Hall of Castleton, on his return from public worship. Several were made prisoners in this town as well as in Hubbardton. At Vergennes, they made an attack on the house of a Mr. Eli Roburds, destroyed property, burned the beds, made him and two of his sons captives, whom they carried into Canada. At Shelburne, they made an attack on the house of a Mr. Pierfon. In a second assault, they succeeded; and among the captives were the two sons of Mr. Pierfon, Uzal and Ziba, about 16 years of age, now among the best farmers in Vermont. These youths found means to make their escape from captivity, and were 40 days in the woods with no means of subsistence but

what their own enterprise and chance threw in their way. When they arrived at their former residence, no human being was to be seen, all was waste and desolation. At length, they found their relations removed to older settlements for security. Better fortune has since rewarded them and their highly respectable families in the excellent farming town of Shelburne.

In the beginning of October, 1780, a severe attack was made upon Royalton. This party consisted of 210 men, all of whom were Indians, except 7. Their object was Newbury, where they were desirous of taking revenge on one Whitcomb, who had been guilty of mortally wounding a British officer for the sake of obtaining his watch and sword. Having passed up Onion river, they met two hunters, who informed them that Newbury was prepared to give them a warm reception. This diverted their course to White river. In Tunbridge, they burnt a house, and took three prisoners. In Royalton, they killed two persons, and took several captives. In Sharon, they took two more prisoners, and consumed some houses and barns. On another branch of White river, they took several prisoners more, burned houses and destroyed other property. After consuming 21 houses in Royalton, they proceeded to Randolph, where on the same day they destroyed several more. They were pursued at night

by capt. House and his men. One Indian was shot and more wounded. Here, the savages killed some of the prisoners. They had sent a message to the Americans, that, in case of a further pursuit, all the captives would be put to death. While the pursuers were deliberating, the Indians secured their retreat for Canada. 25 went into captivity.

The Indians seemed more humane than ever. They killed none but those who made resistance; and did not seem desirous of captivating women and children. The savages carried clothes to women who, motionless with fear, stood at the outside of their houses. They permitted them to return home; and, in a fit of good nature, one of the Indians carried on his back a lady across the river. To another they gave up about a dozen of her neighbor's children. Their captives too fared as well as their masters. Intercourse with the French had given them more correct notions of what was due to humanity.

Indian cornfields are plainly to be seen in various parts of Vermont. In the intervals at Burlington, several hundred acres together were found by the American settlers entirely cleared, not a tree upon them, the lands perfectly level, the soil made by the vernal freshets, and than which there can be no richer land.

Bows and arrows are from the nature of

the materials more perishable ; but arrow heads are to be found in almost every spot. They are very numerous on Onion river and in all the woods in Burlington. Bushels of them are annually ploughed up around Bombazeen pond in Castleton, where are still the vestiges of a once populous Indian village. Here are dug up mortars, pestles, pots and other utensils in great abundance. Some of these are so common in the state as to cease to be articles of curiosity.

In the museum of the state college at Burlington is to be seen the stone axe, larger than the common iron one, found lately a few rods north of the college. A stone hatchet had just been presented, found in Colchester some feet beneath the ground in an iron ore bed, where it must have reposed for ages. Gouges and chisels made of stone are common. A flat stone, very thin, with two holes bored in it, was probably an ornament the natives wore on the breast. A flat stone, nearly in the shape of a heart, lately dug up in Colchester, was probably a spear head used in war.

About 3 years ago, in digging a cellar in Essex, two feet below the surface, a calumet was found. Its body was made of brass, a pipe on one side, and a steel edge on the other, dove tailed in, and exceedingly well wrought. It must have lain in the hard pan for centuries.

On Onion river, opposite Burlington, the bank washed away by the water discovered a vast quantity of bones of various sorts and sizes for more than ten rods in extent. The horns of deer were yet distinguishable. In digging a few feet, among the several things found was the edge part of an Indian iron hatchet, which had been cracked, and broken off at the eye. From the whole scene, the thought hurried itself into the mind, that this was a burying ground for the natives at a time, when it was customary to bury provisions for nourishment and instruments for defence with the bodies of the deceased, when they made their journeys to the country of souls.

At Rockingham are some attempts in a rock to give certain figures of the heads of men, women, children and other animals. They are very rude, and indented one third of an inch. The figures themselves do not express the original designs of the formers of them, but only manifest how far they were from improvement in the arts.

In Kellyvale, is yet to be seen something like an attempt at painting. The bark of a large tree is stripped off, as high as a man can reach. With a stain of a lively color, an Indian with a gun is painted, with his face towards the north. Beside him, is a representation of a skeleton sketched with a considerable degree of anatomical exactness. The whole is a kind of ga-

zette, in which the Indian informs his company which was to follow him, that one of their number was dead, and that the surviving was proceeding in safety on the way to Canada.

Several inscriptions both on rocks and trees are to be found in various places, particularly near the mouth of West river. They manifest a total ignorance of letters. Several Indian pots have been found in the county of Chittenden. The most complete of these was lately found in Bolton. It is about 3 feet in circumference ; nearly half an inch thick ; without any legs, or eyes for a bail. It is regularly and handsomely formed with a share of ornament ; and both its size and shape are similar to the American common dinner pot. It has the appearance of being formed of fine clay and pounded stone, mixed with iron particles and manifests a considerable knowledge of pottery. It has one small crack, each border of which is perforated with small holes, designed to tie it together, in the manner of cracked wooden dishes. It is very light and portable, a very ingenious and useful vessel. In some respects, it is superior to our common iron pots ; and a critical investigation of its materials may give very useful hints at new improvements in this kind of manufacture.

Pieces of such pots are to be found in every part of Vermont. Almost a whole

one was found, a few years since, at the mouth of a cave, at the foot of Camel's Rump, which is one of the highest in the range of the Green mountains. It is probable that one of the Indian traces lay across this mountain. It is on the direct course from the lakes and Canadas to the New England settlements. The natives used to signify success and victory to their countrymen at a distance, by building fires on the tops of the mountains, in the manner of telegraphic signals. One from the summit of this single mountain, which is about 3500 feet above the level of the sea, would be seen from nearly every state in New England, from a large part of the state of New-York, from the city of Montreal and from the two Canadas.

In proportion as cultivation proceeds in Vermont, new monuments and vestiges of its ancient inhabitants are discovered in every quarter. Chance, and not search, throws them into our way. As so many of their utensils and weapons are necessarily perishable by the operation which time produces, it is a matter of surprise that we meet with so many curious relics. Some of these are buried several feet deep beneath the surface of the ground, and must have belonged to owners who lived in the times of other centuries, much older than the present surface of our soil, or the trees of our forests, which have themselves risen since, and

grown old one growth upon another, over the ashes of warriors and the sleeping millions, who have had their day, and have passed down the bourne of returnless time. A great portion of our soil was once the animated dust of mortals, once fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, warriors and lovers, friends and foes. The dust, which now nourishes a plant, might have once been another mighty Cæsar, or an ambitious Buonaparte troubling the repose of the nations of the western world. The ruins of that race of men may remind us of the period, when the present race may be as little known to the future.

The Cognawaga tribe, one of the seven nations, still lays claims to the lands lying within a line beginning at Ticonderoga, passing the great falls on Otter Creek, running to the height of lands dividing the streams between lake Champlain and Connecticut river, thence to the height of lands opposite Missisque down to its bay. In 1798, they sent 5 chiefs to treat with the general assembly of Vermont. The assembly understood that it was a right belonging to congress to treat of trade and intercourse with Indian tribes. A desire was expressed to learn what New-York had done with a similar claim. A design to do entire justice was expressed to the chiefs. They were supported at the expense of the State, during their visit at Vergennes.

They attracted much attention, and expressed great satisfaction in meeting with some old English friends, whose fathers they knew and loved, when they themselves constituted a part of the Stockbridge tribe. A present of one hundred dollars was made them by order of the legislature, when they departed in good humor, designing to meet with the same success by making a similar application in some future convenient time. This was renewed in 1800, but not succeeding, their claim will probably be lost in their silence concerning it.

CHAPTER XVIII.

America entirely settled by the original natives. Their similarity to each other. The manner of the primitive SETTLEMENT of America uncertain. The Mosaic account of the unity of the human race contested by infidels. Various hypotheses for peopling the western from the eastern continent : by an ancient acquaintance with navigation : by a union of the two continents : by a passage by land from Asia : or peopled from nations by way of the Baltic. Two classes of Indians. The Esquimaux. The Aborigines. Chains of isles in the two oceans.

AMERICA, when first discovered by European adventurers, was found inhabited in every part. Neither the burning heat of a vertical sun, nor the piercing cold towards the polar circles prevented the settlements of the original natives. Nor did they crowd the shores of the ocean only, although they derived no inconsiderable portion of their food from its plenteous stores ; but the whole, of the immense countries of the interior from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans, and from the northern to the southern extremities of the western continent, was filled with inhabitants.

As if the main were not sufficient to contain the multitudes of people, every island, contiguous to the continent, in either ocean had its full proportion of natives living upon it.

The Indians are very distinguishable from all other people. On the eastern continent, we find men of all complexions from the blackness of the African to the fairness of the European, while nature seems there to have studied in the human color, as in every thing else, an endless and insatiable variety. But, on the western continent, nature has proceeded on a very different plan, or circumstances have combined to produce a contrary result. Here, the human complexion has an uncommon and surprising uniformity. No matter what was the climate, diet, mode of living, state of society, or whatsoever else, with which the human complexion has heretofore been supposed to be connected ; every where, in every climate, in every section of the whole country, red men were to be found. A similarity of color, features and appearance indicated, that they were of the same original race of men. Other nations spread over a small territory, whose limits are marked by men of different complexions, features, arts, manners and characters. But the Indians spread over an entire continent, inhabited more than one third part of the whole world ; and while they were formed into

many distinct tribes and spoke in different languages, still they exhibited a wonderful similarity in external appearance. Although the tribes are so very numerous and the climates so diverse, yet de Leon, who was one of the conquerors of Peru as well as a traveller through a great part of America, affirms, that the natives are like the children of one father and mother. Ulloa, who visited as well the Indian tribes of Cape Breton in North America as those in South America, asserts, that they were the same people, with no essential difference in complexion, manners and customs ; and to see one was to see them all.

An interesting question has arisen, as to the manner in which America was first peopled. A doubt has arisen in the minds of some, whether the inhabitants of the two continents could ever have proceeded from one original stock. The subject involves many difficulties, and becomes a matter of curiosity more than of any real utility. The history of human affairs not extending back into antiquity sufficiently for decision, wild conjecture is ready to assume the place of absolute knowledge. The natives themselves, unacquainted with the importance of furnishing to posterity the means of information, as well as destitute of letters and unable to rear any imperishable monuments, which could be the expositors of human thoughts and the heralds of other times

which are passed down the bourne of oblivion, can afford the eager inquirer no manner of intelligence, on which reliance can be safely placed. To agitate the question is not with the expectation of demonstrating the truth. A collection of facts will always possess an advantage over the finest speculations of fancy. Whatever shall put men on thinking may, however, be turned to some good account. All speculative inquiries will become useful, when they lead to real investigation; and curiosity need not be repressed, when it only serves to animate men in the search after important facts. As new discoveries are constantly made respecting the early inhabitants of the new world, it is not impossible, as far as we know, that much clearer light may yet be thrown on the origin and history of this extraordinary race of men, who will be objects of increasing interest with the historians, naturalists and philosophers of future times.

This subject is become interesting not more to men of science than to orthodox believers in divine revelation. Asia has always been considered as the birth-place of the first parents of mankind, and from that single stock every branch has originated. Infidels, however, had not been wanting in the old world, who wished, by overthrowing this system of belief, to invalidate the truth of the Mosaic account of

creation, and thus to weaken the faith of mankind in revelation itself, which seemed to be built upon that account. On the discovery of America, infidelity seemed to triumph. For nearly four thousand years, Moses had been uncontradicted, and his history had stood the test of time and the assaults of the enemies of truth. Infidels now thought they had nature on their side of the question, when they saw a new world ; when they beheld millions of red men scattered over the immense regions of a new country, without a known possibility of any connection with the old world, from which they could have emigrated ; separated from each other by an ocean of three thousand miles in width, while the savages had never opened a single sail to the wind ; and were as ignorant of all the arts known on the eastern continent, as they were dissimilar to its inhabitants in complexion, manners and improvements. Efforts were made to impose upon the ignorant and credulous the opinion that they were a race peculiar to themselves ; had an origin other than the one the Mosaic account assigned ; and were the genuine Aborigines of the soil they tilled.

The advocates of revelation would not easily give up Moses, and deem him a writer of fictions. They still maintained the old doctrine of the unity of the human race. They asked for proofs of the contrary po-

sition ; but of proofs there was none. The combat was that of probabilities, where no manner of decision could be had ; while of conjecture the field was wide as infinity, and the schemes as extravagant as the fancies of theorists.

The defender of divine revelation is not obliged to explain every abtrusity of natural knowledge, and clear up every degree of obscurity in science. Some have contended, however, that there is nothing impossible in the hypothesis, that the new world was originally peopled from the old. Although the present race of natives may have no knowledge of navigation, not enough to spread a sail to the wind, yet the ancestral stock, at the time of actual settlement, might not have been equally ignorant of every maritime art. In former ages, the Malayans, who were the red men of Asia, possessed the greatest part of the trade of India ; their ships frequented all the coasts of Asia ; extended from the east side of Africa their voyages nearly to the western coasts of America, a distance of about twelve thousand miles. They had planted numerous colonies on the islands, at this immense distance from their native country. It would surely have been much more easy to have found the continent of America, on which to put their colonies, than to have found so many small islands, at no great distance from the western shores of Mexico.

and Peru, whose inhabitants seem to indicate a descent from no very ignoble and ignorant ancestry.

Others have suspected, that the two continents were joined together. They have believed that America was once united to Europe or Asia, or was connected with both. In such case, both men and animals would have made their way to this quarter of the globe, while there was but one continent. The mighty agents of nature and the convulsions by earthquakes have produced similar effects, on a smaller scale, in every age. The high mountains in America still bear witness, that they were once subject to the dominion of the sea. Some whole states have their foundations with a thin soil on rocks of lime stone, which yet contain the entire figures of the shells of animals, whose essential element is the ocean. The sinking of immense quantities of earth beneath the sea would evidently have made way for the retiring of the waters of the mighty deep, and for the elevation of a more extensive and perfect world amidst the retreat and the ruins of the old. Evidences are supposed to remain of such an immersion in the consequent erection of numerous islands, which yet rear up their heads above the surfaces of the two oceans, as the tops of the old mountains and solitary relics of the everlasting hills.

Others have conjectured that, in high northern latitudes, a connexion by land still exists between the west side of America and the east side of Asia, while by this route the former country received her inhabitants from the latter. The discoveries of the enterprising Russians and of capt. Cook the most distinguished of modern navigators have ascertained, that, if the two continents be not united entirely at the north, yet near the polar circle they are not more than 18 miles asunder. The savages are not known ever to have been entire strangers to the waters ; and their ordinary birchen canoes are more than adequate to such a passage. But were they not ; chance or misfortune, winds and storms would sometimes have thrown them across such a narrow strait. Or had even these failed, still the piercing cold of that region would, during the greatest part of every year, have formed a bridge of ice, which would have given security to the most cautious traveller.

Another sect of philosophers were convinced of the practicability of peopling the western continent from countries bordering on the Baltic. The passage was easy, and had from high antiquity been successfully assayed, from the several Baltic states to the Faroe Isles, thence to Iceland, a country, populous and justly celebrated in former ages, thence to Greenland and from that

country to America. The first part of this voyage was the longest and the most difficult ; but this had been passed many times every year for ages. In the eighth century, when navigation was very little understood in Europe, a passage to America was well known, and the Norwegians had planted a colony in Greenland. Iceland had been settled by Europeans for ages prior to this. A landing once effected, the inhabitants, during a lapse of centuries, would spread from the northern regions to the southern cape, producing the extension of population we witness.

America is composed of two kinds of aboriginal inhabitants. One is that of the *Esquimaux*, who essentially differ from all the rest of Indians upon the continent. They are indeed dark in complexion, but their size is dwarfish, about four feet in height, faces long, noses compressed, eyes sunk, cheeks raised, legs and hands small, and structure feeble. They have settled on the northern parts of the continent, extended from Greenland to the coasts opposite to Kamtschatka, and have spread over countries of nearly five thousand miles in extent. A sameness of features, stature, color, customs, and still more of language has left no doubt, that the *Esquimaux* derived their descent from the same original race with the Laplanders, the Zemblans, the Samoyads and Tartars of the east. Some have in-

dulged the opinion, that the natives of North and South America are from one original stock, emigrated from the north of Asia. Tradition among the natives themselves and some etymologies of language are the arguments used to strengthen this opinion.

Another class of Indians is made up of those who are more commonly styled *Aborigines*. These were found by the first European visitors, scattered over every section of the American continent. These are the red men of the new world, who are so well known as scarcely to need description, and whose striking similarity in all respects to each other seems to prove a sameness of ancestral origin. These are supposed to have originally come from Asia by means of a former union of continents, or from a northern passage, or from accidental trajection, or by proceeding from island to island till they reached the main. Chains of such islands are seen in the Pacific ocean along the Hebrides, the Friendly, Society, Otaheitan, Marquesan, Easter and Fernandes isles to the richest parts of America; and, in the Atlantic we meet with the Canaries, the Cape Verd, and West Indian islands. These, and several other chains of islands in both oceans, would offer facilities of passage either to choice, or compulsion, during several thousand years, especially to those

in a small degree acquainted with navigation.

If these chains of islands conducted the inhabitants of the eastern to the western continent, they would have first arrived at regions adjacent to Mexico and Peru, from which places time would disperse them towards either pole. The less wealthy and the more ignorant would be apt to try the fortunes of a new country from choice. The most enlightened places, like those of Mexico and Peru, might be those, where they first settled; while information would be lost and the arts lessen, as their descendants should retire into more new and distant countries. Posterity would at length lose the remembrance of their origin, and forget many of the improvements of their ancestors. Cut off from easy connection with the enlightened inhabitants of the old world, ambition would, amidst innumerable obstacles against improvement, sink down by degrees into despair, or leave only rough and ferocious feelings to prey upon the mind. The entire destitution of the means of making improvement and cherishing the arts would increase the universal despondence. Instead of aiming at the elegancies of life, all their industry could procure only the precarious and scanty sustenance of animal life, while mental improvement would be little regarded. The want of iron, the great arbiter of civilized life, would soon

complete the ruin already commenced ; and render savages what we find them. However uncertain may be our speculations on this subject, they will not be useless, if they induce us to observe more critically whatever facts time may disclose.

CHAPTER XIX.

The ANTIQUITY of the Indians. Natives ignorant of it. Inferred from their languages. Use of comparative vocabularies. Instances of affinity. Evidences from extent of population. From ignorance of useful arts. From traditions and historical paintings. From ancient relics. From various resemblances. A race more ancient than that of the present Indians.

THE antiquity, not less than the origin, of the red men of America is an interesting subject of inquiry. Obscurity, however, rests on the period of time in which they began to exist as a distinct people, as well as on the country whence they had their origin. Nations favored with the advantages of the arts will be sure to leave some monuments which will successfully resist the wastes of ages ; but the natives had no arts which could impart to fleeting time any permanent traces of events. As they reared no monuments, so they had nothing like letters, by which records and history could retard the rapid career of events hurrying down to oblivion.

None of the original *natives* has knowledge enough to tell his own story. It proba-

ably extends too high into antiquity for the reach of human investigation. Proofs, however, will accumulate at every step we take to evince, beyond the power of doubt, that the Indians are a most ancient race.

Their *languages* will prove this. Their number and variety were greater than could be found in both Europe and Asia. It will not readily be conceded, that a facility in making a language is in proportion to the ignorance of those who form it. Nothing requires a deeper logic, or more intense reflection than the formation of language. The most illustrious of the Cæsars in the plenitude of his power acknowledged, that he could not change a word, or give currency to a new one in the Roman tongue. Yet the natives in the lapse of ages did much more. Judging from those in the eastern states, and in Virginia, they must have had thousands. They spoke three original languages in Canada, two in New-England, three in Virginia, thirty-five in Mexico, fifty in Brazil, and a proportional number in other parts of the continent. Their dialects were much more numerous still, and were almost as many as their tribes. Their languages were so original and different from each other as to require in their treaties the intervention of interpreters, even when nations had lived contiguous to each other for ages. Dialects and modes of pronunciation may easily be adopted, or chang-

ed ; but to recede from all affinity to each other must be the work of time. For us to form a new language, having no analogy to our own, would prove no inconsiderable labor. The English, Dutch, Germans, Swiss, Norwegians, Danes and Swedes have been separate nations for ages ; but, when twice as many more ages shall have rolled away, no doubt etymologies will be traced and derivations be as obvious as ever. As a greater number of radical changes of language has taken place among the red men of America, the author of the NOTES ON VIRGINIA receives it as a proof of a higher antiquity than those in Asia. Of course, it will follow, that either the latter is indebted to the former for its primitive inhabitants, or a local creation supplied them.

It is to be regretted, that greater care has not been taken to preserve vocabularies of Indian words in each language. Some of the tribes are almost every year becoming extinct, and all knowledge of their language must perish with those who spoke it. By comparing the names of the most familiar objects in nature with those of the languages on the eastern continent, it is obvious that we shall obtain one method of ascertaining, whether the inhabitants of the two worlds ever spoke the same radical language. Amidst our scanty means of information, this method would prove one of the most certain and satisfactory in discovering

the affinity, the origin and the antiquity of all nations. The preservation and the increase of such "*vocabularia comparativa*," in the collection of which some progress has already been made, would leave the literary men of future times and of both continents to pursue the subject at leisure, marshal the facts and arrive at the most important discoveries. Our zeal ought to be increased from the consideration, that the means and the possibility of effecting an object so desirable are every day diminishing.

The vocabularies, which have been obtained, offer many evidences not only of high antiquity but also of Asiatic descent. *Nom* is the name of God among the Poconchi tribe of Indians; among the Semoyads in Asia it is changed to *Nim*. The Delaware Indians use the name of *Kitchi*, and the Kamptchadals in Asia say *Kootcha*. The Indians of Pennsylvania use the word *anna* and the Peruvians *mama* for mother, while in Asia the Tartars say *ana* and the Albanians *mamma*. The Delaware Indians in America say *nachk* for a hand, and the Akashini say *nak*. The Chilese name of blood is *molbuen*, in Asia the Koriaki call it *moollyomool*. The name of ice among the Chippewas in America is *meequar-me*, while among the Kazees in Asia it is *meek*. However slight the affinities may appear between American and Asiatic languages, yet the radical affinities of the various Indian lan-

guages must be obvious to every observer. Ease of pronunciation may be sufficient to account for the adoption of certain words by nations who never had any communication with each other ; such as the word, *mama*, which is so easily and early emitted from infantile organs of speech. But however useful extensive Indian and Asiatic vocabularies may prove, yet the cautious genius of philosophy will not be ready to erect an entire system on a few analogies or obscure etymologies.

The *extent* of Indian population will also be a strong evidence of high antiquity. The savages had spread over every part of the continent of America as well as over all the adjacent islands. During the 320 years the Europeans have been acquainted with their tribes, there has been no increase of their numbers. The hunter's state does not probably admit of a greater population. So far from any increase are they, that some whole tribes have become extinct, the remnants of others are lost in a consolidation with other nations, while every one of them has actually diminished in number. It has been estimated, that the British colonies in America, which are remarkable for a rapid increase, have not doubled their numbers more than once in thirty years. The families of Indians, containing not more than half the members as those of the white people, would double in about sixty years. If

America were peopled by one human pair, a population of one Indian to a square mile would require a period of nearly fourteen centuries. Such a period, considering the progress of the hunter's state and the commencement of civilized life, must have terminated some centuries before America was discovered by the Europeans. This estimate will carry us back to several centuries prior to the birth of Christ.

The origin and antiquity of the Indian race may be traced to the far remote period, when *the useful arts were unknown* in the country whence they emigrated. The wants of mankind are so urgent, that they are not apt to forget what is indispensably necessary to subsistence and self defence. The use of iron is so connected with every thing we do, that all remembrance of it seems to be next to impossible. The loom, the forge and the plough, with many other arts necessary to life, when their value should be once known, would be identified with the consciousness of existence. The use of animals to aid the labors of man would be held in remembrance as long as the necessity of industry should be found to continue. But the original natives had neither these arts, nor any recollections of them. Such a want of knowledge will give a date to their origin near the period of the first human pair.

The *traditions* of the natives themselves

show, that they are of no modern date. They retain some ideas of what took place before the general deluge ; but are strangers to later events which have distinguished the European continent. The Mexicans have direct traditions concerning the confusion of tongues at Babel, and declare that their ancestors came from Asia since that memorable event ; and they have preserved the same tradition in their historical pictures. Had they the means of learning the events which followed the flood, it is not probable that they would have been well acquainted with those only which were before it. A conclusion therefore has been made, that the natives of America are entitled to a rank in antiquity, which shall place them among the descendants of Noah.

The *relics* of the Aborigines will support the supposition of a very ancient date. Whatever was made of wood and other perishable materials has long since reverted to the common character of earth. Their cities and fortified places scarcely leave vestiges of their position. Trees of successive growth now shoot up their aged trunks and venerable branches over places which were once the favorite resorts of the ancient inhabitants. Their vessels of pottery are dug up many feet below the surface of ground, where they seem to have rested for ages. Their instruments are found identified with ore, which seemed to be coeval with time

itself. All these things could not be the works of yesterday ; and the inhabitants of the western hemisphere almost seem to have been the owners of another surface of earth.

There are many other things which not only evince the antiquity, but also may be thought to indicate the origin of the Indian tribes. From the circumstances of their anointing their heads, paying a price for their wives, observing the feast of harvest, offering up sacrifices, making grievous mourning for the dead, and many other striking points of resemblance between the Israelites and Indians, the latter have been considered as the descendants of *Abraham*. The ancient Scythians were in the practice of *scalping* their enemies, whom the fortune of war put in their power ; and from the savages of America indulging the same practice, it was at once inferred, that they were of the same extraction. The Kam-schatkans and Indians, when marching to battle, go in the order of *single file* ; and this was enough in the minds of some to decide, that both people were of the same ancestral stock. The *birchen canoes* of the Canadians bore a resemblance of those of the Tungusi in the north of Asia, and it was easy from this to determine, that the former were a colony proceeding from the latter. It was no sooner discovered, that the Mexicans and Peruvians used to give perpetuity to the most memorable events by *hieroglyph*-

ic representations, than it was declared, that those Aborigines were the descendants of the ancient Egyptians. Others perceived the certainty of an Asiatic descent in the *redness* of the complexion, the straightness of the hair, the want of a beard, the manner of sitting on the ground, the treatment of children, the popular mythology of the countries, notions of a God, opinions of a future state, and ceremonies of worship. From such trivial coincidences as these, entire systems have arisen. The course, which the cautious spirit of philosophy will pursue, is, to collect as many interesting facts as possible ; and the hypothesis, which none of those facts will contradict, may be adopted with the pleasing hope of approximating to the truth.

Whatever evidences we can summon concerning this subject, they will be in favor of the antiquity of the Indian race. The authority of revelation will, in the minds of christians, decide on the prior settlement of the eastern continent. Aside of an authority more than human, the strength of probabilities would affect the minds of men very differently. The minds of such philosophers as are partial to our own country, who drew their first, and wish to draw their latest breath in it, have considered America as the mother of all nations dwelling upon it, rather than as a dependant on the eastern hemisphere for the primitive stock of the mill-

ions which filled the western. But no proofs have been obtained, which can in the least invalidate the Mosaic account, which has stood the test of more than four thousand years.

The difficulties respecting the antiquity of the Indians would not vanish even with full proofs, that the present race were descendants from the nations north of Asia. A persuasion has been felt, that a race prior to the present, much more skilled in the arts and approaching the manners of civilized life, were the proper Aborigines of America. The relics of regular fortifications and the venerable ruins of large cities, in many parts of the whole country, and still more visible on the banks of the Mississippi, are considered as indications of such an ancient race. Neither the northern Asiatics nor the present savages of America seem either disposed to erect or capable of forming such regular and extensive works. It is a gloomy reflection to be indulged, that the savage has succeeded the civilized, and that every thing auspicious to the hopes of constant melioration should be made to yield to the force of barbarians. Such incessant changes in the affairs of men and on the face of nature enforce the sentiment, that nothing can be glorious but what is immortal.

CHAPTER XX.

The ancient POPULATION of the Indians. The hunter's state unfavorable. Instances of great population. The Jesuits. Agriculture and commerce favorable to numbers. Population of America. The numbers of the original natives reduced. Certain tribes extinct. The CAUSES OF DECREASE of population. Alleged impotency. Cruel treatment. Slavery. Wars among themselves. Wars with the Europeans. Despair. Abridgment of territory. Famine. The plague. New diseases imported from Europe. Spiritous liquors and other causes.

IT is now impossible to ascertain the degree of *population* among the ancient inhabitants of America. Their numbers, however, must have been very great. It must have required vast multitudes to have spread over every part of the western continent, and to have crowded all the islands which even their rude art of navigation could reach. No section of the country was so remote, no soil so barren, and no climate so forbidding, as to discourage the savages from effecting a settlement.

When America was first discovered by the Europeans, it contained a population

vastly superior to what it has at any subsequent period. As it had, just before its discovery, been wasted by wars among the natives themselves, and consumed by a pestilence of uncommon virulence, sometimes not leaving to certain tribes a single survivor of the calamity, we may imagine that it had formerly enjoyed a more abundant population. Its population, however, could never have equaled what we behold in the crowded cities of Europe and of civilized life. The hunter's state will not suffer such a multiplication of human beings. The savages had already increased, we may suppose, equal to the means of subsistence ; and at this point the prolific power of animals must stop. What could be obtained from the sea and from the spontaneous bounty of the earth could have done very little more for a people naturally or habitually indolent, and possessing a knowledge only of the most scanty means. Necessity was, in many places, beginning to compel them to resort to the first rude efforts of agriculture ; and they had been made sensible of its advantages by the more sure supplies which maize alone could afford. An increase of population was well nigh impossible, without the aid of tillage and the assistance of the useful arts.

No part of America was destitute of inhabitants. Around the colony at Plymouth, the natives were few ; but vestiges of

vast multitudes remained, while unburied bones as well as information from more remote tribes afforded proofs of the pestilence, which had lately leveled all the owners of the soil with the dust. The western parts of America, on the Pacific coasts, are said to have been the most thickly settled; whence an argument has been taken to shew, that the western regions, where "*the sun sleeps*," were first peopled with adventurers from Asia. When Cortes took Mexico, he found within that single city sixty thousand families of Indians; which is about four times the number of white people in any city of America at the present period. Some of the islands contained a much greater population in general than the same extent of territory on the main. When the Europeans first arrived at Hispaniola, that island alone contained one million of inhabitants; and De las Casas has estimated them at three times that number. The Jesuits, who added the zeal of religion to an ambition for dominion over the minds and the bodies both of the savage and the civilized, had collected a force of sixty thousand volunteers in Paraguay alone.

In the state of Virginia, several tribes were numbered by public authority. About 40 tribes were found to live within its territory; and one native for every square mile. According to its late extent, therefore, it contained 121,525 original natives. The

proportion of warriors to the whole inhabitants, in the Powhatan confederacy, was as 3 to 10. This is about the twentieth part of the present population of the white inhabitants on the same territory, and not more than one hundredth of that of the British Islands. Some whole provinces of China in Asia and of Italy in Europe contain three hundred times this proportion of inhabitants ; and this is the result of the difference between the hunter's state and the agricultural and commercial life. A farm of 100 acres will easily support ten persons, in almost any part of the United States ; and this is in the ratio of 64 persons to one square mile.

The population of America has been very differently stated by different writers. It has been reckoned from two millions to three hundred millions. Such a wide difference will show us, that there are no data by which any estimate can be made, with any rational prospects of arriving at the truth. In assigning one thousand millions of human beings to the whole globe, one hundred and fifty millions have been reckoned to America. But this must be overrating her population. The Rev. President Stiles, who is said to have bestowed no inconsiderable labor on this computation, has allotted two millions and a half only. This probably is the contrary extreme, very remote from the truth. The whole of Amer-

ica can hardly be supposed to be more fully peopled than Virginia and New England. The Indians here are thought not to have exceeded the ratio of one original native to each square mile ; and this would give a population of fourteen millions to the continent of America and one million to its neighboring isles. Fifteen millions, therefore, may be computed as the extent of the actual population of the Aborigines, at the time the Europeans were first made acquainted with this country.

Whatsoever may have been the degree of population, it is certain, that an amazing decrease of their numbers followed the approach of the white people. The fabled qualities of the Bohan Upas could scarcely have produced more fatal effects. The natives of Hispaniola, reckoned at one million, were, in the course of 15 years, reduced to sixty thousand. Other islands, once full of inhabitants, were soon entirely deserted by their primitive possessors. The numerous tribes within the United States seemed to dwindle away with an astonishing rapidity. In Virginia, agreeably to the census from 1607 to 1669, a period of 62 years, the tribes were diminished down to one third of their former numbers. It is true, that some of the relics of tribes near the Atlantic shores removed to the west, but still even those western tribes are greatly decreased in population. Some whole nations

are extinct, and no remembrancer is left but their names. One chief from each of the tribes of the *Chickahominies*, the Pamunkies and Mattaponies attended the treaty at Albany in 1685, and the former have been known no more. Of the Pamunkies there remain 10 or 12 men ; and of the Mattaponies three or four only, but with more of negro than Indian blood running in their veins. Of the Powhatans, there are not enough to preserve their original language ; while of the Nottowas not one man is left ; and the Tuscaroras are blended, like those of many other tribes, with those who have offered them protection, when too few for self defence.

Various *causes* have been assigned for this decrease. Some have ascribed a natural *impotency* to the Indians themselves. The proud Europeans have fancied, that every animal degenerated in America. Is the mammoth a proof of this tendency to diminution ? Are the skeletons of the ancient inhabitants of more than seven feet in length so many evidences of dwarfs ? Are not the present Indians remarkable for being tall, healthy and vigorous ? Would white women be able to sustain life in hardships, travelling and want, where the Indian women rear large families ? Is it not found, that the red women of European traders, when in situations of ease and plenty, are sufficiently prolific ? Was ever such a little,

feeble and impotent Indian, as Monsieur Buffon describes, ever seen in the wilds of America ?

The causes contributing to a decrease of numbers are many. They experienced from the white people the most *cruel treatment*. Nothing can exceed the barbarity of the Spaniards, whenever they possessed the power of tyrannising over them. They thought nothing could be too bad for an Indian. Even the good christians of New England, with all their faith in the doctrine of disinterested benevolence, sold those whom they took in war as slaves to the West-Indies, while the Spaniards exercised a more cruel treatment still. The loss of liberty to the Indians, who never knew any restraint before, and who dreaded labor and domination more than torture, was worse than loss of life. In such a condition of servitude, they dwindled away with astonishing rapidity.

Armed with superior weapons, the Europeans put vast multitudes of the natives to death. To their musketry and artillery they had nothing more to oppose than their bows and arrows with better hopes of success. *War* wasted numbers ; and in one single battle about one hundred thousand are known to have fallen victims to the fatal weapons of a very few Europeans.

But the Indians were still more consumed in their *wars with each other*. Animosity

raged among themselves ; and treaties of certain tribes with their white allies were sure to create hostilities with those who were not included in such alliances. As the Indians were driven back by the whites into the interior countries, they were forced to trespass on the territories of other tribes, even of those with whom they had waged former wars, and new conflicts would ensue, which in general must terminate only in the entire destruction of one of the tribes, while the numbers of the other must have been exceedingly diminished by their savage combats.

Despair seemed to have carried others to an untimely grave. They saw strangers taking possession of their territories, and daily encroachments made on the soil which contained the bones of their venerated ancestors, and where they drew their first breath, and where they wished to draw their latest. In sight of a new and powerful people, they perceived their own danger and felt their own inferiority. Despondency and gloom and apprehension preyed upon their spirits, while their bodies were wasted by the agitations of their minds. The tribe at Natick was treated with mildness and with truly religious consideration and benevolence ; but in a few years the tribe seemed to have wasted away. The same results took place wherever the white people approached.

The settlement of the Europeans in America served to *abridge the territory* of the natives in an equal proportion. Every part of the country was before used for the purposes of the hunter. The consequences were absolute want; and a necessity of retiring back into the interior would be an interference with the rights of other natives, till wars of extermination would end the scene.

About three years before the landing of the Plymouth colony, the *plague*, or the yellow fever, swept off immense numbers of the Indians, in some tribes every individual. The island of Massachusetts, which before had a population of 3000 persons, had not one single individual left upon it. Nantucket Island was reduced from 320 to 85 souls. The Massachusetts Indians were also reduced from 30,000 fighting men down to 300. Of the Plymouth tribe neither man, nor woman nor child survived the rage of pestilence; and Divine Providence seemed to be preparing the way for a people who should bring with them the arts of civilization and the religion worthy of God to give.

But the natives were destined to be consumed, after the Europeans arrived, with *new* diseases, to which they had hitherto been entirely strangers. The small pox spread over every part of the continent with a destruction in places, which hardly

left survivors to be frightened with its ravages, nor mourners to lament over the exit of friends. Some of the northern parts of America were nearly depopulated by it. Among the Massachusetts Indians, it prevailed in the year 1633 with uncommon virulence. The heating their bodies artificially into a high state of perspiration and then plunging into cold water, which often relieved in other complaints, was not a remedy appropriate to this dreadful scourge of mankind. The vices and licentiousness of the European adventurers, in the more southern regions especially, brought other diseases scarcely less fatal; and the virtues of the lobelia were often incompetent to vie with the virulence of the lues Venerea. It was no easy thing for the ignorant savages to discover remedies for all the varieties of new cases, which the new classes of diseases peculiar to the old world would necessarily introduce into the new.

But there was a worse pestilence still, that of *spiritous liquors*. Cruelty and slavery, wars and diseases, famine and despair had slain their thousands of natives; but ardent spirits, more fatal than the rest, had slain their tens of thousands. Other enemies they hated and strove to destroy by every possible effort; but this most deadly enemy of their peace they loved, and received with an eagerness, which almost always gave certainty of success to the power of temp-

tation. War, famine and pestilence returned only at times and in certain places ; but ardent spirits have been a plague which has every day wasted them away in every tribe for more than 300 years. The most poisonous liquors too which ever come from the unnumbered distilleries of all America were destined to carry vice, misery and death among a race of men who seem already upon the point of becoming extinct.

These, and many *other* causes easy to be conceived, are surely numerous and efficient enough to reduce the uncounted tribes of the savages, who once filled the extensive wilds of America, down to the diminished number which we now witness. Thus all nations, whether civilized or savage, are in a state of constant fluctuation, and experience in swift succession the periods of origin, maturity and decay.

CHAPTER XXI.

State of society among the Indians. The strength of the social appetite. Government simple. Little coercion. Means of restraint in opinion. Government imperfect. The reason of their tribes being small. No constitution and jurisprudence. No tendency to improvement. The hunter's state. The agricultural. The government of Mexico. Of Peru. General mode of governing. Equality and love of freedom. Laws few. Selfish passions feeble. Corruptions. Their society tends to dissolution.

THE appetite for society is in no animal so strong as in man. There is a charm in the human countenance which is peculiarly fascinating ; and a melody in the human voice which always enraptures. In the interchange of our thoughts, there is as much of pleasure as of improvement. When men meet, the simplest remark, if it be no other than that it is a pleasant day, or an inquiry after health, however obvious must be the answer, has a degree of real satisfaction in it. No tribe has been found so fierce, so barbarous, as not to yield to the force of the social affections. The savage enters into such society as his degree of in-

formation points out as best, and as his condition will most easily admit.

The simplest forms of society will, of course, be adopted. Men cannot long continue together without having a necessity to resort to certain rules, customs and regulations. Were every individual well disposed, there would be a convenience in general rules, and a great facility in ordinary business would result from system. A real difference in the minds of men would produce a diversity of judgment, and require the intervention of disinterested arbitrators to decide upon what is right. Others being mischievous and ill disposed would endure no restraint, and crimes would soon require the strong arm of punishment. Government would, therefore, be found essential to the very existence of society. As a family arose, the father of it would become its director. As families multiplied, those distinguished for age, virtues and talents, would obtain influence and dominion. Amidst national conflicts, a military despot would now and then arise; but, in general, where the people were fond of liberty and in a state of equality, government would be such as accorded with the wishes of the majority. Where commercial concerns were few, and extensive intercourse not desired, the laws would be few, much regulation would not be necessary, and the public bu-

liness, not being burthenfome, would be tranfacted by the people themfelves.

The Indians of North America do not feem to have advanced beyond this ftate of things. More generally, they had fubmitted to no fyftem of laws, and were ftangers to all coercion. The control they acknowledged was the moral fenfe of right and wrong. The obfervance of ancient cuftoms and the influence of manners impofed other ufeful reftraints. Public crimes were punifhed with public contempt ; or by an exclusion from fociety ; and penalties which affected life were inflicted by fuch as were moft injured. With fuch a mode of coercion, extremely imperfect as it was, crimes were rarely committed, and encroachments on the rights of community were effectually reftained.

Such a government, in a civilized ftate, would lead to dreadful commotions, in great cities ; while, in very extenfive empires, it would be impoffible. Aware, no doubt, of thefe evil tendencies, the favages have broken great focieties into fmall ones. In the little circle of a fingle tribe, they could manage affairs in their own way.

But a new evil arofe ; fmall tribes were incompetent to defence. This evil was removed by forming extenfive confederacies. That of Powhatan, fouth of the Patomac, comprehended a territory of 8000 fquare miles, 30 tribes, and 2400 warriors. Such

connections were frequent, and carried to a great extent of country ; and some, continued for ages, still exist among the tribes settled on the great western lakes.

In all this management of public affairs, there was nothing which partook of the *science* of government. There was no separation of its powers into distinct branches ; and whatever was done was the evident dictate of necessity and the refuge of fear, not the result of mere reasoning and of skill in jurisprudence.

There was no tendency to *improvement* ; and the hunter's state did not seem to admit of it. The chase afforded a temporary supply of food ; and, as the pleasure increased with the pursuit, no new and no higher objects were likely to engage the attention. Indeed, many white people, who have long indulged in that mode of living, have preferred it to the more improved state of society, encumbered with too much regulation.

The *hunter's* state, which at one time yielded much more than was wanted, at another left nothing but want, and once in a year was almost sure to produce a famine, was deemed by some too precarious for human subsistence. Wheresoever the dawn of improvement appeared, the hunter's state was succeeded by the *agricultural*. Imperfect as husbandry must be, without the aid of proper seeds, instruments or animals for

the use of man, still it served to prevent the periodical return of absolute destitution ; it increased the degree of plenty ; carried new comforts into the wigwams ; gave strong proofs, that the earth was the proper source of human support ; and, more than all, introduced an era of new improvements and increase of blessings.

From this advanced state of society, *two* new kinds of government arose among the natives. *One* was in the celebrated kingdom of Mexico. Monarchy was the particular form, in which it prevailed. It exactly resembled what has taken place throughout the greater part of Europe. The government was elective during the reign of eleven kings, but at length lost itself in hereditary rights. Those, who filled the throne, were, many of them at least, distinguished for those excellencies, talents and virtues, which add the highest honors to the most exalted rank. Although the many were, as usual, degraded, in order that the few might rise, still plenty was enjoyed, population increased, and vast improvements of every kind were made, rendering it one of the brightest spots in the new world.

The *second* kind of government was that of the empire of Peru. In many respects, it was different from all others ever established among men. It was deemed the direct donation of heaven. Twelve monarchs had reigned during the long period of 400

years. They were considered as the children of the sun. The princes were called by the common name of Inca ; and were viewed as a superior race of men. Reputed to be the children of the sun, the great material source of beneficence, they acted worthily of that high descent. Never did a race of monarchs aim more for the good of their people, nor were any more successful in their endeavors. Industry reared structures, contentment gladdened every heart, and social felicity seemed indeed to have descended from heaven to earth. Such was the happy state of things, when the Spanish conqueror of Peru, the cruel spoiler, came, blasted this blooming Eden, and brought death and woe into this fairest part of the new world.

In general, however, the state of society and of government partakes of the most entire equality, of which we are able to conceive, consistent with any social regulations, or human restraints. There is not a people on earth who have higher notions of freedom. There is no such thing among them as legal coercion. Fierce as the savage behaves towards his enemies, yet at home he is remarkable for indulgence and mildness. In the most retired circle, he seldom acts the tyrant. The father of a family exercises scarcely any thing of what we call parental authority. Even his children are saucy and bold and entirely un-

governed. What we mean by the words, inferiors and superiors, would scarcely be intelligible to them. None of the distinctions of more polished life elevate a few and depress many among them. Great respect indeed is paid to age ; and, while the old men speak, silence and attention express the reverence due to them from the whole assembly. But even the aged can only advise ; and they never dictate, never command. Their influence may be great ; but still it is entirely personal, derived from no appendage either of power or of office.

No where did a perfect equality prevail more than among the original natives of New-England. But it was an equality of rights rather than of rank. They had kings, and the nearest relations succeeded to the government ; but still the authority was parental, and public ministers did little more than express the public sense of what was right to be done. Sometimes, several kings were combined into one empire ; but still they were revered and beloved. No hated despot arose to oppress the people. The kings took care of the aged, the widow and the fatherless ; and what distinguished them was a spirit of more extensive beneficence.

The laws of savages are few, because they have few objects of interest to regulate. They have no constitution, no code of laws, no judiciary system, no written document.

All proceedings are regulated by a present sense of fitness, and by an immediate regard to utility.

As savages live almost in common, individuals can have few violent contentions with each other. Interest, which seems to sway the whole civilized world, is scarcely felt as a private concern. The selfish passions, which are the great disturbers of our world, are nearly dormant in the savage breast. While the whole tribe possesses a plenty, no private person is allowed to be in want. Every thing is of a public concern. Every thing proceeds prosperously with the individual, when his whole tribe is safe, when the extent of its territory is not abridged, and no public hostility is feared. Private interests with them are thus immersed in the public good, while the selfish passions are rocked to sleep.

Such was the state of society, when America was discovered. There is no proof, that either society or government were ever among them *more* perfect than at that period. Both began to decay, as soon as the Europeans came among them. The ignorant mind of the savage was then distracted with what he saw. Every thing from the eastern world was novel and alluring ; nor was it easy to decide at first, whether a connection would be dangerous or profitable. When the natives saw their errors and their perils, it was too late to avoid them. The

chains, which had been put upon them, were riveted to their ruin. Diseases to torture the body and vices to distress the mind were imported from Europe, to which the natives fell easy and unresisting victims. Deplorable as the savage state was, the white people soon made it worse, and added to it a flood of corruptions. This fact is obvious from the circumstance of the Indians disappearing at the approach of the Europeans. The natives seemed to perish, as before a dreadful pestilence. Their most populous places became so many deserts. The sword and sickness and famine might have devoured many; but despair, spiritous liquors, loss of territory, and many other causes, not yet sufficiently investigated, destroyed more. They are still hastening down to destruction with rapid strides; and a proportional waste will, in two or three centuries, complete the extinction of that race, at least within the limits of the United States. Pitying humanity as well as a philosophical spirit, to say nothing of justice and religion, will lead our government to retard, if it cannot prevent, this career to destruction, while sound policy does not forbid its interposition in their favor.

The causes, which deranged their state of society, which precipitated their government to ruin, broke their spirits, and arrested the progress of population, are nu-

merous ; some of which are extremely obvious, and others deserving a more perfect investigation. A small number possessing a large territory, where they seldom saw each other, and when, intent on game, they seldom improved by a communication of their thoughts, was a state of society, which tended to destroy the very means of mental culture, and to leave them ignorant and barbarous. Men must live together in large cities, before their minds will be much cultivated, or manners highly polished. The individuals of different nations must have frequent intercourse, before national prejudices will cease to exist, and humanity have its proper dominion in the hearts of men. Whatever extends and enlarges our views of men and things will serve to liberalize our minds, add new vigor to our social feelings and aggrandize our sentiments. Whatsoever calls men together in vast assemblies, although improprieties cannot always be prevented, yet advantages will usually arise more than sufficient to balance the evils experienced.

The Indian tribes were hostile to each other, and were apt to trespass on hunting grounds which were not their own, whenever the sight of game animated the chase. So infrequent was intercourse between tribes, that, too often, to see a stranger was considered as seeing an enemy. As every thing belonged to the whole tribe or

community, so there was little to encourage personal exertions. The selfish passions had well nigh ceased to operate, and of course excitements to labor and industry were few. There was no coercion to rouse the languid, no public authority but that of general opinion, and little more than a spirit of personal revenge to restrain the criminal. The universal passion was that of war; and war in its worst form, that of extermination. Conquest itself, when it spared the foe, was a consolidation of different tribes, and was sure to bring together various elements which could ill agree with each other. In their rude state of knowledge, the boundaries of the lands they claimed were ill defined; and this uncertainty afforded occasions of frequent warfare, where force, instead of right, was called in to make the decision.

Such a state of society, scarcely worthy of the name, hardly admitted of melioration. It contained within itself the very seeds of dissolution; and almost any sudden change of external circumstances, or new disaster, would be apt to produce consequences the most fatal. Feeble as their bond of union was, it was still further weakened by the craft, vices and corruptions imported from every part of the eastern continent. Such a flood of evils social, natural and moral, the original natives

were not able to withstand. This flood of evils has destroyed those whom it first overtook, and now threatens the ultimate extinction of the whole race.

CHAPTER XXII.

The character of Indians variously represented. The Hurons. The natives corrupted. Their appearance. Complexion. Seat of color. Variety on the eastern continent. Uniformity on the western. Influence of climate. The Indian temper not equable. Merry. Grave. Taciturn. Irritable. Idle. Women laborious. Dirty. Finery of men. Dress. Varnish. Modern dress. Ornaments. Military dress. Love of distinction natural and useful.

THE character of the Indians has been very *differently* represented. Some have painted them as the most wild and abhorrent monsters in nature, and almost unworthy of being admitted to the rank of human beings. Such are inclined to consider the minds of the whole race as being incapable of much culture, their hearts insensible of the finer emotions, and their state as not susceptible of any great melioration.

Others have formed opinions highly *honorary* to them. Columbus himself, who knew them in a state uncorrupted by intercourse with Europeans, speaks of them as an amiable race of men, and of their customs as being very becoming. Charlevoix, father

Henepin and other French writers, M. Buffon excepted, give us the most favorable accounts of them. Voltaire draws a captivating picture of Indian manners, of which the Hurons, on the eastern side of the great lake of the same name, are the originals. There is a great diversity of character among this people. No one can read the history of the ancient Peruvians, without having his mind struck with a thousand amiable traits. Nor shall we often find among any people manners more simple, or affections more friendly. But the whole race does not now appear as it once did. Intercourse with the white people, many of whom were monsters in human shape, has served to corrupt them, and has increased every malignant passion. Of late, though Americans and Europeans have courted their alliance in war, yet they have been found faithless in engagement, greedy of spoil, insatiable in revenge, and dangerous in a reverse of fortune. In human character, there is nothing perfect; and, wherever we find men, we shall perceive a mixture of the good and the bad, as we find in our fields the tares and the wheat.

The *appearance* of the Indian is very distinguishable from that of every other people. Their faces are broad, their noses flat, their eyes black, small and active. Their hair is very long, coarse, straight and black. They permit no beard to grow, and care-

fully extract it by the roots, believing its growth would give them a resemblance to brute animals. Their stature is above a middling size, and some are quite gigantic. Their mode of living has no tendency to corpulence. Their bodies are strong, and features regular. Their martial habits and military passion give to their countenances, often, an appearance wild, fierce, morose. None of their bodies are deformed, or deficient in vigor. Their senses, particularly their sight and hearing, are uncommonly acute and discerning. Throughout all the tribes, there is a uniformity of appearance, which one cannot fail to notice, leaving on the mind of the spectator a conviction of the unity of the original race.

Nothing in their general appearance is more noticeable than their *color*. Their complexion is olive; some partaking of a darker, some of a lighter shade, and others are as fair as the Spaniards. Often, we meet with that complexion and those features, which join together to produce the sensation of beauty.

The *cause of the varieties* in the human complexion is a very interesting subject of inquiry. The seat of color is thought to be in the rete mucosum, a mucous substance rather than of membranous structure, situated between the epidermis and cutis. The hue of this mucus, which may be dissolved by being macerated in water, while

the same result is sometimes effected by a local disease, gives color to animal bodies. In the African, this is perfectly black, while the true skin is of the ordinary color. No decision has yet been made, whether the state of this mucus is invariably such as nature assigned, or whether it is susceptible of the affections of climate and the changes produced by external relations.

On the eastern continent, facts seem to show the power of *climate* over the human complexion. The darkest people, in general, are placed beneath a burning sun ; and, as you advance towards the polar regions, you meet with fairer countenances. This is noticeable even in the same nation, as in that within the extensive empire of China, stretching through more than thirty degrees of latitude, with a great diversity of temperature, where the complexion becomes lighter, in almost exact proportion as you recede from the equator. Even beasts are affected by the same law of nature, and their color approaches to white, as the severity of cold increases. Diet, mode of living and local circumstances may seem to produce deviations from the general rule ; but still the force of climate will be felt, and its effects will become apparent. Many ages have been allowed necessary to effect such a change in the human complexion. White people are soon affected by a warm climate, and immediately receive a darker hue ; but

dark complexions do not so soon become fair in a colder region, because two operations are to be effected, one to take out an old stain, and the other to produce a new shade. The extremes of heat and cold produce, in some instances, similar effects; and hence in Monamotapa in Africa, beneath the strong heat of a vertical sun, persons are to be found with light complexions, but with the features of the black man. After all, it is more rational to conclude, that the color of the human body does not arise from any *one* single cause. Constitution, food, air, degree of health and cleanliness, as well as climate, may all possess an influence in producing that variety of complexion, which we observe in the human species, agreeably to that studied variety in all other things, of which nature seems not only to be fond, but utterly insatiable. Nor is color a useless provision; the white in colder regions, where it prevails, is favorable to receiving and retaining heat, while the dark in a warmer climate does not so readily admit a fluid which would only serve to oppress the body. Nature is attentive to apply remedies for the cure of evils, or to mitigate the severity of those which do exist.

A vast diversity of complexion takes place on the eastern continent, while on the western a much greater *uniformity* is studied. The Aborigines of America are nearly all

of the same color, with very inconsiderable shades of difference, not more than we find in the coloring of the leaves of the same tree. The power of the sun does not seem here to exert the same dominion. Whether the fanning of the equatorial regions with cool breezes, or the elevated mountains at the west, or freedom from sandy deserts make the difference, it remains to be investigated. At any rate, the fact lies not in controversy, that the man of America is every where red.

Equability is no attribute of the Indian character. They are constant in nothing but in change. Sometimes, they are the merriest creatures in nature, when things move according to all their wishes. They feel so light, as almost to mount up with the air; and their hearts are so full of satisfactions, that they seem incapable of containing their furious and extravagant joys. They dance, they sing, they feast, and their pleasures seem too great to keep the heart from bursting with the swells of raptures.

The excesses of passion cannot last long. In general, an Indian is a very *grave* being. It is only at times, that he forgets himself, and acts like a whirlwind with-madning sportiveness in a region which is usually calm. Placed in stations of difficulty, of ten in the midst of perils, in dread of enemies, in fear of want, with no very fair prospects before him, he is sober, and some.

times exhibits the sad appearance of melancholy ; but, in receding from such a state of mind, he flies to the other extreme of joys excessive.

The Indian is rather inclined to be *taciturn*. When he speaks, it is always to the purpose ; seldom with a view of mere merriment. His silence accords with the gravity of this character ; and he has less desire to maintain conversation himself than to listen to it in others.

The savage is high spirited, and very *irritable*. From his infantile age, he knows of nothing which ought to have the name of restraint. As character depends on opinion, and as penalty consists in disgrace, the point of honor is every thing with him. Through want of parental authority and by a destitution of other restraints, all his passions are sudden, as they are violent. Neither reason nor decency moderate his feelings. The proprieties of civilized life, which restrain the excesses of passion in others, are neither known to him, nor do they command his respect. His sensibility is a flame which instantly kindles. An injury rouses all the fury of his wild mind. His whole soul is bent on one single point, that of the most fatal revenge.

Savages are always inclined to be *idle*. Unacquainted with what we mean by property, their inducements to industry are few and feeble. Time with them is of no val-

ue. When the mind is infuriated with passion, with the rage of war, or with thirst for revenge, no efforts are deemed too great. When these agitations are over, their minds sink down into their accustomed state of lethargy. They waste their years in eating and drinking, inactivity and sleep. Labor is beneath the Indian's dignity, as it is among the drones of civilized life. The savage of America, however, is not like the negro of Africa, who sinks into sleep, whenever he ceases from action. His eyes, like those of Argus, see every thing, his ears hear every sound, and all his senses employed show, that his soul is as active as his body is passive. What necessity or inclination urges him to do, is done most leisurely. He will spend whole years in building his hut, making his canoe, or forming his pipe.

There must always be industry somewhere; and among the savages this falls to the lot of the *women*. To them and their daughters the whole business of agriculture is assigned. They hoe the corn, and secure the harvest. They bring home the fish, and take care of the game. They do the cookery, and provide the comforts of the fire side. When they have provided a repast, they are not used to eat, agreeably to the custom of Arabian wives, till their husbands have done.

Dirtiness is always an attendant on a sav-

age state. This is a natural result of their want of industry. Their huts are the sink of impurity ; and their noses must always be in a state of purgatory, but with the difference of having no hope of relief from torments. Their vessels and dishes never know what it is to be washed. Their garments are worn, till they drop from their bodies. The eye, which delights in cleanliness, would not find among them an object on which it could fix with pleasure. Every sense would be in tortures. Among those, however, who are half civilized by intercourse with the white people, you will meet with cleanly faces, neat blankets and other appendages, which once more reconcile us to view them as human beings.

As to *finery*, they proceed by the rule of reverse. Among the white people, the fair are loaded with ornaments, as if inanimate beauty could vie for the palm with female beauty. But with the savages, the woman is a more humble object ; and man is every thing. On him ornaments are heaped, and every object, which can glitter, shines. In going to the council of his nation, or marching forth to war, it was his ambition to appear with all the decorations of dress. Whatsoever remained of ornament became the treasure of the delighted female.

Their *dress* is correspondent either with the climate, or with the degree of improvement. In every section of the globe, it is

usually carried as far as ability will permit. In warm countries, they sometimes have nothing more than the primitive dress of Eden. Modesty would be eager to add a little more ; and an Eve would soon sew fig leaves together, where nothing better offered itself.

The natives made use of oil, grease and gums, forming a sort of *varnish* for their bodies, mixed with various colors, which gave them a singular and fantastic appearance. In addition to ornament, it might prove useful in preventing the piercing cold of the forests and the moisture of the lakes, while it afforded a shield against the poison of insects and prevented the wastes of perspiration.

In less temperate regions, they would contrive something *warmer* ; and towards the chill north they made use of furs and skins of beasts, whose flesh had been their food. In winter, however, nothing but necessity would drive them from the mild temperature of the wigwam. Since their acquaintance with European manufactures and customs, they wear moccasins on the feet, an under dress, a kind of shirt and a large blanket over the whole body. They are more studious of comfort than of elegant appearance.

They are fond of all kinds of *ornaments*. Their very hair is interwoven with them. Their ears are pulled down to a monstrous

length by the weight of ear-rings. They will receive any thing which glitters rather than go plain. Their fingers are encircled with as many rings as their wealth can purchase, made of lead, pewter, or brass, rather than have none. Bracelets also adorn their wrists, and some feather usually waves in the wind upon their heads. Both men and women have their hearts set upon trinkets and beads and trifles.

Their *military* dress is more splendid than all others. The Missafago chief, who, in the battle with general St. Clair, led the Indians to victory, had on hose and moccasens, a sort of blue petty-coat and European surtout, a cap which hung half way down his back, filled with more than 200 plain silver broaches, two rings to each ear, with three silver medals of the size of a dollar for the upper part. The lower part of the ear-rings were hung with quarters of dollars, dangling down more than a foot from his ears. A similar one from each ear hung over his breast, and another over his back. He had also three large nose jewels of silver, which were curiously painted.

The Indians set a great price on these decorations, and they are among the last articles with which they will part. There is a pride in human nature, and she will find some way to express that love of distinction, which she cannot cease to feel.

Such a desire to rival others may be a very useful part of our natures, when it incites us to become distinguished more by enlightened minds and pure hearts, more by luminous examples and useful actions, than by any exterior decorations of body or ornaments of dress.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Character and customs. Hospitality. Kindness. Revenge. Cruelty. Intemperance. Gaming. Politeness. Names. Advantages of a savage state. Disadvantages. Longevity. Cannibals. Love of liberty. Frequent wars with each other. Treatment of captives. Mode of torture. Passive courage. Contempt of death. Sachems. Songs. Dances. Treatment of women. Polygamy. Marriages. Funerals.

THE Indians are very *hospitable*. Nothing is too good for a friend ; and the entire stranger is at no expense among them. If you give them any thing to eat, drink or use, it is well ; but they will never ask for it. Kindness makes an impression on their minds, which will never be forgotten. A sense of injury likewise is lasting as the consciousness of their existence. They never have much, and never want but little. Though ignorant of our pleasures, they are equally strangers to our troubles. Our food is our toil ; their pleasure feeds them. Their table is every where spread, wherever there is ground on which to sit ; and nature is too provident not to afford her

children something, when their taste is not too fastidious.

They are *kind* to each other. In sickness, they resort to the scene of anguish, where they tender their best aids, till recovery makes them happy to excess, or death terminates the period of sufferings. In sickness they are impatient of a cure, and will give away any thing they have in order to procure a remedy. If any are unable by sickness or misfortune to procure the means of subsistence, provisions and comforts are sure to be sent them. When a field is to be cleared, or any great work is to be accomplished, men, women and children, all lend their aid.

Their *friendship* is strong. The Cherokees had resolved to lead col. Bird, who had been sent from Virginia to treat of peace, to death. Silouee, an Indian chieftain, on some former occasion, had contracted a friendship for him. As the executioners entered to kill him, Silouee threw himself between them and the colonel, saying, "*this man is my friend. Before you get at him, you must kill me.*" The Cherokees so respected the principle of friendship, on which he acted, as to recede from their resolution.

On their enemies, however, the Indians are *revengeful*. They will go through all dangers to the ends of the earth, in order to chastise one who has done them an inju-

ry. Forgiveness with savages is not deemed a virtue, and revenge is not only sweet, but also highly glorious. They are artful to contrive, skilful to select the means, and active to execute the plans they adopt. Vigor is joined with the utmost secrecy. With an enemy they keep no faith, and consider no promise binding ; but never disappoint a friend.

The Indians are also *cruel*. No restraints are imposed upon them from their youth. It would be deemed meanness and want of spirit to permit an injury to go unpunished. Their national customs make it the duty of each individual to avenge his own wrongs. The worst passions of his heart increase, therefore, with his strength of body, till anger kindles, revenge burns, and malice consumes, when trifles vex. All their wars are cruel, bloody and fatal. Old men, women and children, though too feeble to hold a weapon, must all be exterminated. Wars cease with life itself. But though we call the savages cruel, yet their cruelties are tender mercies, compared with the miseries, murders and butcheries which the Spaniards carried among the innocent natives of South America ; compared with the cruelties which a British company of merchants inflicted on the millions of Bengal ; compared with the tortures in the courts of inquisition on the pretext of curing heresy, throughout the greatest part of christendom ; com-

pared with the horrid massacre, in 1572, on St. Bartholomew's day, when 30,000 persons were butchered, on account of religious opinions, in the most polite city of Europe ; or compared with the atrocities of the very founders of New England, when, in 1676, they tried and executed by English laws the Indians, who had surrendered with views of being safe, at least in their persons. The civilized world has many expiations to make, before it can talk, with a good grace, of *savage* cruelties.

Drunkennes is one of the vices inseparable from the savage state. Before the discovery of America, the natives had found out an inebriating liquor expressed from the Indian corn which they cultivated. Strangers to the art of distilling, they were not able to procure a quantity which would prove of any serious injury to them. Wherever they can obtain spiritous liquors, they seem utterly incapable of moderation in their use. Under their influence too, they are irritable, rash and mischievous to a frightful degree. The strength of this appetite has been attributed to the constant use of fresh water and raw meat. Nature required something more astringent and stimulating. The same mode of living and exposure to the elements will create in Europeans the same desires and sharpen the same appetite.

Disinclined to labor, they become eager

to pass away the lingering hours in *gaming*. Their whole souls being fixed on the object of gain, they become noisy, violent and troublesome. They will put at hazard every thing they possess, however necessary and valuable. But they lose with a good grace in the end, and the trial at chance usually terminates disputes, noise and hard feelings.

The savages possess a share of *politeness*, peculiar to themselves. No people are more respectful to the aged. They are all attention to what is said. Not a whisper, not a murmur, not even a mark of applause interrupt the speaker. When he has done speaking, they deem it improper to dispute, or to contradict. The most they will do, is to pronounce their own sentiments on the subject.

They are exceedingly bigoted to *names*. They give themselves those which are very expressive, denoting some interesting object in nature, or some historical event. They change their own names, as new events present occasions. They are much pleased, when the white people assign them names; and in return they select names for their white friends, which are strikingly significant of some prominent trait in their character, shewing that they are critical observers of human nature.

The savage state has, no doubt, its *advantages*. It promotes bodily activity. Few among them are sickly, feeble or deformed.

Their minds possess an astonishing degree of fortitude and passive courage. Their political talents are not inferior ; and some of their speeches would not dishonor an European parliament. Their love of country burns with a pure, ardent and inextinguishable flame. They rush up to the cannon's mouth and throw themselves on the weapons of certain death, if their last efforts can leave their tribe safe and free. All they do is for the common weal, and private interest scarcely finds any place to enter.

The *disadvantages* of the savage state are more than a balance. Intellectual improvement will be out of the question. The mind will remain a subject too invisible to be noticed. Absolute want, not rational culture, will be the topic of conversation, when they meet. They will have virtues indeed, but they will be few ; and these not founded on ethical principles, discovering the reasons of their duty, carried to any sufficient extent.

Longevity is one advantage of the savage state. They live to a great age ; and you may often meet with those who can reckon one more generation than the venerable Nestor. Their activity endures to the last, till they slip down the other side of the hill of life in an instant. Persons of 120 years are not rare sights. John Quittamug walked from Woodstock to Boston, a distance of nearly 100 miles, and returned when he

was 112 years of age. The kindness of the Bostonians, however, in rich eating and drinking, soon sent him to rest with his fathers.

By writers who never saw a western savage and who resided more than 3000 miles from his country, we are told, that the Indians are *cannibals*. Hunger and famine may have compelled them to subsist for a time on human flesh. Oneco, in triumph over the fallen body of Philip, cut about a pound from it, broiled and eat it, expressing great satisfaction in it. The pleasure was in the triumph, not in the peculiarity of the food. It does not come in evidence that human flesh was used as ordinary diet.

The savages of North America have exalted sentiments of *liberty*. They have no word to express what we mean by *subject*. The idea of a master is worse to them than any form of death. In confinement they pine away ; and in slavery they soon die. There is with them scarcely such a thing as parental authority and domestic restraint. Their children comprehend this notion of equality, and show their sense of it by being refractory, saucy and disrespectful.

The tribes are often at *war* with each other. In these, they are cruel and bloody to a greater excess than in the wars they wage with the white people. These combats waste more men than famine and pestilence.

Among them, *English prisoners* are sometimes killed and scalped upon the spot, in the first instant of capture. Sometimes they are carried away to Indian villages. There, they are either adopted into families and treated with the utmost kindness; or at other times they are made to undergo the most dreadful tortures and a lingering death. Sometimes they are sold as slaves, or suffered to be redeemed by their friends and countrymen for a sum of money.

Their mode of *torturing* those, whom the fortune of war has thrown into their power, especially when they wage war with each other, is dreadful. They erect a scaffold, tie the prisoners to a stake, when the sufferers commence their death song. They recount how many of their enemies they have killed, and triumph in the idea of the destruction which they have heretofore occasioned among them. They ridicule them as being ignorant of the art of tormenting, and instruct them in new modes of it. Tortures begin at the extremities of the body. The nails are torn out by the roots. The skin of the fingers is torn off with the teeth. Fine splinters of pine are stuck into the roots of the nails and set on fire. The toes are pounded between two stones. Circles are cut in rings round the joints. Gashes are made in the body. The flesh is pinched and seared. It is then pulled off in little pieces. The blood is rubbed in the face. The bare nerves and tendons are twisted

round red hot iron ; and then extended in all directions. This scene continues during five or six hours. Sometimes the sufferer is allowed to rest, while new and worse tortures are preparing for him. Then, the eyes are thrust out ; the ears and lips cut off ; the teeth are knocked out ; the skin is peeled off, hot embers are put on, and other distresses multiplied, so long as nature can sustain such barbarities.

When Indians thus suffer, they show great *contempt of torture and death*. Before they are led to execution, they sing and boast. Sometimes, they ask the favor of a piece of tobacco, or a few whiffs from a pipe. Nanunttenoo, son of Miantonimoh, when told by the English that he must suffer death, on account of the murders he had committed, replied, that "*he liked it well ; that he should die before his heart was soft ; or he had said or done any thing unworthy of himself.*"

Their *sachems* are the conductors of war, but their authority does not extend to civil affairs. Their great councils, or grand fires, are composed of the chiefs of tribes and heads of families, men of great wisdom, age and influence. They debate with much decency, and great eloquence, and never are interrupted, till they close what they choose to offer. They enter on war with great deliberation and with many ceremonies. Their councils are held round a large

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fire ; one of the chieftains presides ; and scalps, as trophies of former valor and victories, are often hung around as the most valued ornaments of the senate house.

The Indians are fond of *songs*, although they have neither variety nor harmony in them. The thoughts turn on the most serious concerns of life. They have songs for war, for victory and for death. On themselves, these produce effects great and important.

Dancing is a favorite employment among them ; and indeed is one, of which all nations, whether savage or civilized, are very fond. It prevails, however, with great diversity, and for very different purposes. A refined people regard it as a mere amusement, but whose motions are without meaning, and in which both sexes unite. But among savages, dancing is something more than mere amusement. The women very seldom join in it ; and refinement of manners is not an object in view. The war-dance, is a sort of theatrical representation, in which the dancers or actors exhibit the hatred they feel for the enemy, the secrecy with which they mean to fall upon him, and the cruelties which they intend to inflict. In being present, the imagination has an instant conception of its being a reality, and before the spectator can get rid of the delusions of fancy, he witnesses the wretched prisoners scalped, he sees the

knife red with blood, and the tomahawk lifted up for the fatal blow. If peace is to be made, a dance is an essential ceremony ; and they find means by motions of the body to express the most friendly sentiments of the heart. The ambassadors and the warriors unite in the same dance, and smoke from the same pipe of peace. The dance, in short, begins and concludes most of their important meetings, and becomes a ceremony on all the most solemn and interesting occasions of life. Nor is the serious use of dancing peculiar to this people ; the ancient Jews made it a part of religious homage, and this ceremony has had the good fortune to be admitted into the worship of some christian sects.

Women among the Indians do not obtain a proper rank and merited estimation ; but are treated as inferior beings. They are not permitted to eat with their husbands. The drudgery of the whole family falls on them. They build the houses, and carry the heavy burdens on their journies. They plant, hoe and harvest the corn ; bring home fish and game ; and dress the food. The men hunt, take fish and go to war. The women are modest, and the men are strangers to the passion of jealousy. Their courtships are gross almost beyond example in some tribes. They cohabit, for a time, on trial, before marriage. If the man is not suited, he leaves the presents he

had made the girl, and both seek new lovers. Women, however, are sometimes in high repute even in their councils both in peace and war, and are elected squaw sachems of their tribes. But it is only in civilized society that woman is respected, and approached with sentiments worthy of her virtues.

In general, an Indian family consists of one man and one woman with their children. *Polygamy*, however, is found to exist among them, where the means of subsistence are easy. To dissolve the connubial bond, nothing is necessary, but the consent of the parties. There is no evidence of cause, no record, no ceremony. If they have children, they are divided among the parents as they can agree.

In New-England, the consent of the king was requisite for *marriage*, and he acted as a priest to join their hands in lasting union.

The Missouri tribe of Indians, like the ancient Israelites, marry the sisters in succession, in case of the decease of the elder sister.

They usually make great lamentations for the *dead*, and refuse all consolation. The Shawanese and some other tribes make a feast, and rejoice when they deem their friends beyond the power of suffering. For 24 hours, they keep the corpse in the "*cabin of death*;" then it is placed in a bark coffin, and, followed by dancers, is consigned

to the grave amidst the songs of the living. Hunting instruments, food and arms are buried with their friends, in order that they may appear to advantage in "*the land of spirits.*"

Various customs and manners, however, prevail in the several tribes with very observable degrees of difference. Whatever relates to this singular people deserves more attention from naturalists and philosophers, civilians and theologians than they have yet given to the subject.

CHAPTER XXIV.

State of improvement among the Indians. Intellectual capacity. Without public instruction. No alphabet invented. No means of general knowledge. Ignorance. Agriculture. Attention confined to the means of subsistence. Imitative arts. Natural knowledge. Magic. Power over venomous serpents. Inclined to superstition. Natural tendency to this vice. Language. Eloquence. An Indian speech.

AS little improvement only as would allow society to exist had been made by the Aborigines of this country. They had made no progress in the arts or in the sciences, worthy of the name of either. Imperious necessity had compelled them indeed to contrive a few simple instruments which aided their means of subsistence at home, and a few weapons of defence which secured them against the power of enemies abroad. Imagination can hardly conceive of a people more destitute of whatsoever the enlightened parts of the world would deem necessary to society and comfort.

This ignorance was not the result of any *intellectual* and constitutional defect. The minds of the Indians afford no evidence of want of vigor and discernment. They pos-

self a degree of cunning, which is exceeded by no people on earth. The armies of enlightened nations have been made unwilling witnesses of their military prowess. Vigor of imagination is apparent in the beauty and strength of their figurative expressions.

Several of the natives, since their acquaintance with the white people, have been sent to the American colleges in order to acquire a classical education. After completing a regular course of studies, although the love of country and the ties of kindred have led them back to their native soil and the pleasant scenes where infancy sported, yet the facility with which they learned languages, traced the abstrusities of sciences and advanced in learned researches, sufficiently manifested no want of intellectual capacity. Their return home, however, where the means of information do not exist, and where there is nothing to awaken the spirit of inquiry and rivalry, has unhappily put an end to their further improvement.

The Indians had no such institutions as *schools*, where the young are taught, and which among the civilized are the grand sources of general instruction. They had, like all other people, invented arbitrary signs of ideas; but to invent signs of words was an ingenious thought which had never entered their rude minds. In the eastern world, this invention is so ancient, that the

name of its author, who ought to have been immortal in the honors and gratitude of all posterity, has been consigned to oblivion. We only know the honored names of those who have added a few more letters to the alphabets of the ancient oriental languages. There is no probability, that the natives of North America had made any real improvement for ages, prior to the discovery of this continent. There was nothing of that general information in existence among them, which would have soon led to the invention of letters. In the more polished kingdoms of Mexico and Peru, the state of improvement was more promising. They had invented a mode of expressing their thoughts by signs of words, making use of strings of various colors, arranged in a peculiar manner. Hieroglyphic representations and historical paintings were efforts to accomplish a similar design. These inventions showed, that not many years would have elapsed before they would, with such a degree of information, have invented letters and the all important arts of writing and printing, tendencies to which were already apparent in the attainments, which they had actually made.

The Indians then were entirely unacquainted with the art of *writing* and the ingenious invention of an alphabet. They had no writing, no record, no regular history. What knowledge one age or nation

possessed, they had no means of perpetuating for the benefit of another. Important discoveries, new inventions and the labors of genius perished with their authors. Each generation stood alone, and there was neither ability nor inclination to do much to enlighten and benefit posterity. Future generations seemed destined to remain in the same darkness and destitution. Mothers taught their children a few things, and the aged at times recounted the events of other days. Their songs were records of a few particulars, and the delivery of strings of wampum to individuals made it their special duty to remember the terms of national treaties, agreements and regulations of the first necessity. Their memories indeed were remarkably faithful; but still this mode of communicating truth from age to age was extremely imperfect. As life perished with the body, so knowledge was destined to vanish away with the departure of the soul of each individual, leaving the world very little more enlightened by the numbers of persons who had passed through it. Until some method should be invented to prevent the information which individuals possessed from passing down to oblivion and till scattered rays of light should be collected to a point, there was no prospect, that their minds would become much more informed, or any high degrees of improvement would be made.

All the parts of knowledge are *connected* together, like the links of one extended chain. A deficiency in one respect is sure to cause a deficiency in another. All the arts and sciences have a certain bond of union. The natives had made themselves, in some degree, acquainted with a few of the metals. Copper, silver and gold were known to them ; but with iron, the metal more useful than all others, they were unacquainted. The want of this one metallic substance is sufficient to prevent all progress in the arts, and to keep men in a state of barbarism. Were enlightened and polished Europe now to be deprived of iron only, her magnificent structures would soon tumble into ruins, her arts would soon be no more, and her glory would vanish forever.

Of astronomy they were *ignorant*, and knew nothing of the planets, stars, and celestial motions more than to make the more splendid luminaries the measures of time. As to the extent and magnitude of the earth, they were strangers to three quarters of the globe. As to navigation, they knew little more than to form a canoe, but had no means to direct their course to open to them the dominion of the seas. The natives in the north western regions, although for centuries they have been acquainted with Europeans and have witnessed the advantages of their arts and improvements, seem still

disposed to profit very little by them. Among the fine arts, painting has received more attention than any other from the more polished tribes. But their attainments in any of the arts are extremely rude, and past efforts promise very little concerning the future.

Agriculture, the grand source of nutriment, had received from them as little attention as possible. When seeds and plants were committed to the earth, chance, and not culture, reared them. Maize and beans, pumpkins and squashes were the only plants they cultivated. Seeds and nuts, berries and roots were spontaneous productions affording a partial relief. The taking of fish offered the means of subsistence in much greater abundance ; and, of course, multitudes of natives were accustomed to resort to places where they abounded. Vestiges of their villages are, therefore, to be found on the banks of rivers and water falls, the lakes and the sea shores. Hunting, however, was the principal source of dependence. This added pleasure to profit. Game was also more plentiful, before the hand of culture had made encroachments upon the wild forests. But all these modes of procuring the necessaries of life were very scanty and precarious. At one time, they had much more than they wanted ; and, of course, waste was made, and excess of eating indulged. At another time, the chace

denied them the wonted success, and want was felt, and pestilence closed the scene. Sometimes, during a great portion of the year, they had nothing more on which to subsist than groundnuts and roots. Indeed, almost every year brought with it plenty and famine. Nor did they seem ready to take the hint, that the earth is the kind mother, who is destined to give nourishment to all her faithful children.

Improvement of mind is not the object of the Indian. He strives to support life. It is more than he can do to obtain comfort. His labors are all for the body. His mind neither hungers nor thirsts for intellectual supplies. He seems indifferent to works of art. He says, they are "*pretty*," when we expected to find nothing but curiosity and astonishment in him. Some tribes, however, are more enlightened than others. The Hurons plant, have begun to build houses, to set out fruit trees, and afford a promise of more comfort and wealth. There is something of twilight to this night of ignorance. A few have taken some geographical notices of the tribes and countries through which they have passed, and are able to sketch a map of them on bark, or on the hide of a bison.

The savages are the most fond of the *imitative* arts. They sketch the pictures of some animals upon the bowls of their pipes, on wood, stones and shells. The vessels,

from which they eat and drink, have often something of the kind upon them. The noses of some of their ancient vessels of pottery are formed into the shape of a frog's head, through which the contents are poured. With their voices some so exactly imitate birds and wild beasts as to decoy and deceive them. In arts of this kind, they are great adepts.

Necessity has led them to many discoveries of *natural* knowledge. They have ascertained the qualities of many herbs, plants and roots ; and many quacks among those of European descent make pretensions to a similar skill. They have remedies for every complaint which attacks the human body ; and, were faith with them efficacious, they would be immortal upon earth. Great credence is imposed upon their nostrums. When sick, they listen to the advice of any one, who makes great pretensions to the healing art. They will give away any thing they possess for the very prospect of relief. They are acquainted with the art of coloring, and give some of the most durable stains and liveliest hues, which can be imagined. They have learned also to extract some of the most subtle and deleterious poisons in nature.

They are great believers in *magic*. In the healing art, medicines alone will not effect a cure. Whatsoever may be the complaint, nearly the same course is pursued, numer-

ous ceremonies are performed, mystic rites are sought, and dependance placed on supernatural efficacy.

They have acquired, like the Egyptians, the power over *serpents*. The priests, like the sect of the Sadi, possess this power over the reptile race. They wished to give proofs of being the favorites of the Great Spirit by exhibitions of what the more ignorant would deem miraculous influence. They go about curing wounds, healing disease and exercising dominion over the most envenomed reptiles. They suffer snakes to twine round their arms, encircle their bodies and pass through their fingers, without any harm. Rattle-snakes are said to come from their dens, or retire in any direction, at their command. The offices of priest and physician are united in the same persons; and they have discovered the qualities of plants and the nature of simples to effect all their purposes. Even brutes, when poisoned, are instinctively inclined to proper remedies; and hints could be taken, sufficient to discover what qualities could allure and what deter. Sticks and leaves of black ash are said to be sufficient to keep at a distance every poisonous reptile. When we comprehend nature, we shall perceive very few miracles, while knowledge will exclude mysteries, as light does the darkness.

All their cures are wrought in connection with some *superstitious* ceremonies. When

they work cures, they use certain cabalistical ejaculations and mysterious rites, the better to create reverence for themselves. Persons chilled with cold are relieved by pouring warm water down their throats ; fevers by sweating ; sores by warm medicaments ; agues in baths of hot vegetable steam ; spasms and pleurifies by sudorifics ; and diarrhœa by astringents. Where so much depended on incantations and supernatural aid, more hope would be reposed on the number of rites than on the efficacy of means.

At times, we are almost inclined to believe, that there is an *instinctive tendency in human nature to superstition*. We perceive it not only in the savage of the west and in the prophet, Meanemseech, at Tippacanoë, but relics of it are to be found among the most enlightened nations of the earth. The Jews believed in signs, the Greeks in omens, the Chaldeans in divination, the Egyptians in magic and the Romans in prognostics by the flight of birds. Even the christians of New England, polished by the arts and enlightened by the sciences, yet believed in supernatural occurrences disturbing the settled order of the universe. The Vermont prophet, no less than the Shawanese, had his multitudes of followers ; and credulity will be found enormous as well in polished life as in the rude wanderer of the wild forests of the west.

There are few things which prove the strength of the intellectual powers of the Indians so clearly as their several *languages*. Their number, radical differences and multiplied dialects manifest, that their invention and genius were never at a loss. Few things require critical investigation, profound logic and deep reflection more than to form a language. Yet theirs was simple, and lofty, but not copious. It was easy for utterance, and for brevity resembled short hand in writing, one word answering for several. Their sounds are sweet and sonorous. Their language is deficient, however, in tenses, modes and particles.

Their *eloquence* is extremely impressive. Those, who have listened to their debates at their grand fires, speak of the dignity of the chiefs, of their expressive gestures and fluent discourses. Red Jacket and many other chieftains would be called natural orators in any country, and fix attention wherever their language should be understood. As we have so many justly celebrated speeches of theirs, it is truly surprising, that the best of them have not yet been collected and presented to the world in a volume, which could not fail to interest. They abound in metaphors, and delight in the boldest figures.

The *speech* of the Mingoe chief has long been admired. The Indians had been defeated by the Virginian troops, and were

compelled to sue for peace. Logan, however, disdained to appear among the suppliants. Still, for the sake of his countrymen, he wished not to prevent the return of peace. He sent, therefore, to the English the following speech.

"I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat. If ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last, long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen, as they passed, pointed and said, "*Logan is the friend of the white men.*" I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries done by one man. Col. Cresap, the last spring, in cool blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it; I have killed many; I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never knew fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is left to mourn for Logan? Not one!"

CHAPTER XXV.

Indian arts. Houses. Canoes. Mode of taking fish. Snares. Traps. Cookery. Axes. Hatchets. Chissels. Gouges. Mortars. Pestles. Kettles. Arrow heads. A stone in the shape of a pear. Sculpture. Hearths. Cellars. Tumuli. Old fields. Wears. Instance of sagacity. Nets. Wampum. Calumet. Enumeration of arts borrowed from the Indians. Medical knowledge. Antidotes. Superstitions propagated. The comforts of savages few.

THE mechanical productions of the Indians are few and imperfect. They have no structures, no monuments, which exhibit marks of much ingenuity. As they had not the means, so they did not appear to possess a taste for the mechanic arts. Their *houses* were built of light and perishable materials. Some of them were 50 or 60 feet long. They were covered with mats, and warmer than those of the English. No rain, no air penetrated them. These were erected by the women, and capable of being removed with ease, whenever they wished to wander to a new region.

Their *canoes* were of great use to them. They were of two kinds ; one was made

out of a large log excavated; the inside burned and wrought by a stone gouge; and the outside shaped by their stone axe. The second kind was made of birchen bark. This was curiously wrought, and so very light as to be easily carried on the shoulders by one or two men. They *travel* as much as possible by water, and can proceed, when they choose, with great expedition. In gales and storms, they manage these light canoes with surprising art.

They take their *fish* by entangling them in weirs, dipping for them with scoop nets, or striking them with spears. Birds were taken in *snares*, or shot with arrows. Animals were caught in *traps*. Sometimes, they build two hedges some miles apart at one end, and coming nearly to an angle at the other, where they lay in ambush to kill every animal which should pass. Their terrible snare was a young tree bent down to the ground, which entangling the game sprang back with a force sufficient to elevate the largest animals. An English mare being caught in one, the friendly Indians, afraid of her "*iron claws*," ran to tell the owners respecting the airy flight of their "*squaw horse*," not having a word to discriminate the sexes of inferior animals.

Their meat was *cooked* by broiling it on coals, roasting it on a stick, or boiling it in kettles of stone. Corn was pounded in wooden mortars with stone pestles. Bread

was baked on flat stones, or, being enclosed in green leaves, was laid in hot ashes. Clam shells formed convenient spoons, and their fingers made very durable knives and forks. Instead of butter and lard, they made use of the oil of seals and fish. Unacquainted with our luxuries, they were free from our wants. Ignorant of iron, their *hatchets* and *axes* were made of stone. Their use dictated a similar shape to ours. A young sappling was split near the ground, the head of the axe thrust into it, and the tree growing firmly to it, a handle was formed with very inconsiderable labor.

Their *chissel* was of stone, sharpened to an edge. Their *gouge* differed from it by being hollow at the edge. Canoes, trays and mortars were wrought by the aid of such imperfect tools as these. Fire was employed to effect a part of the operation, and wet clay controlled its extent.

Some of their *mortars* are made of stone with sufficient excavations ; and the *pestles* of the same materials are formed into the usual shape. If an Indian family go from home, they place the stone or wooden mortar against the door of their wigwam ; and no one enters it. Their honesty requires no other security. It answers all the purposes of bars, and locks and keys.

Some of their *kettles* are still dug up, which are nothing more than a large hole

in a stone. They cause its contents to boil by putting in succession hot stones into it.

Their *arrow heads* are found in every part of America. They are formed so as to be let into a shaft. The small ones were designed for children. They are from one to five inches in length. They are generally of the silicious kind of stone; and, with their means, it is surprising, how they cut them with such art and dexterity.

The use of a stone, in the shape of a *pear*, with a neck to it, is undetermined. If it were suspended from the neck by a string, it was a clumsy ornament. If it served as a weight to sink their nets, too much labor was bestowed upon it. The Indians were not ignorant of the art of *sculpture*. On the end of a long stone pestle, found at Wells in the district of Maine, there is an imitation of the head of a serpent. Something of this kind is often to be seen on the bowls of their pipes. In New-Hampshire was found a piece of a bone, on which is engraven the bust of a man in the agonies of death. The countenance is savage, but the work well executed.

In the places of former habitation, *circular hearths* of flat stones are sometimes discovered. These were the centres of their wigwams, where their fires were placed, round which they slept with their feet towards them. This mode of sleeping with

the feet to the fire is both a preventative and a remedy for a cold.

The *cellars*, in which they preserved their corn, are often discovered in the new settlements. Their *burying* grounds are more frequent. The dead were placed in a sitting posture. Relics of ornaments and instruments of defence, which were buried with the bodies as requisites in "*the country of souls*," are still dug out of the earth. The stone pipe for smoking is usually among them. In a *tumulus* near Ossapy Ponds are found skeletons buried with the face downward. In other places strings of wampum have been found entire. *Old fields*, where they planted their corn, the small hills of which are yet visible, are common in all the states. Traces of *paths* for carrying places between rivers are still to be seen. Specimens of ancient *pottery*, deemed of a valuable kind, are found in many places.

On the great Ossapy and Winipiseogee rivers are remains of *weirs*, constructed of large stones. At Sanbernton and Hinsdale in New-Hampshire are appearances of *fortresses*; the one at the former place is composed of five distinct walls; but those at the westward are vastly superior to these.

There are some *Indian Gazettes*. On a tree in Moultonboro' is carved a history of one of their expeditions. The number of the killed and the captivated were represented by so many human figures. The stroke

of a knife across the throat designated the killed. Even the sexes had some intelligible marks of distinctions.

The Indians are great *observers* of every incident. A savage had a piece of dried venison stolen by a white man from the outside of his wigwam, where it had been hung to dry. He pursued the thief by his tracks. Meeting a traveller, he stops to inquire, if he had seen him on the road. The Indian describes the thief, whom he had never seen, as an old man, of a short stature, with a long gun, accompanied by a small dog, with a short tail. The traveller is inquisitive to learn, how he obtained such an accurate description of one, who had committed a crime in secret,* and whom he had never seen. The Indian replies, that he knew the thief was an old man by the turning in of his toes as he walked ; that he was a white man, it was evident from his mode of stepping ; he was a short man, because he could not reach the meat without a log to stand on ; he had a long gun, because, when he set it against a tree while taking the meat, the upper part of the barrel indented the bark ; and he ascertained the size and tail of the dog by the print he made by lying on the sand, while his master committed the crime, for which justice was pursuing him.

The *nets* of the Californian Indians are superior to any made in Europe. The ma-

terials are from plants and a coarse thread of palm. The colors are ingeniously mixed, the workmanship admirable, and a great variety of figures represented. They are not only used for taking fish, but the more curious ones are worn as ornaments for the head and neck, and used for holding fruit.

Wampum is an article of great value to them. It formerly consisted of small shells. It now consists of small cylindrical beads. They are either black or white, of which the former are the most valuable. They are the Indian's money, and are current as gold and silver are with us. They are curiously interwoven into every part of their dress, in a great variety of figures. Their colors and shapes are expressive of things, and serve as writing to record important transactions and to communicate thoughts to each other. As money they hire warriors with them. As writing they record treaties. Nothing very interesting is done, without the intervention of a string of wampum.

The *calumet*, which is their pipe of peace, is no less revered. The bowl is usually a soft, red stone. The stem is of cane, painted with different colors, and adorned with the feathers of the most beautiful birds. When they treat of war, the pipe and all its ornaments are painted red. This instrument is used whenever they enter into any new engagement, which they deem sa-

ered. To smoke from the calumet is a sign of mutual friendship and peace. With them it is a sacred oath, a seal of contract, a pledge of performance of what has been promised. The size of the pipe and the degree of decoration are correspondent to the importance of the occasion, the quality of the persons and the esteem entertained for them.

We have *borrowed* from them some of their customs and arts. We imitate their canoe, their mode of travelling and taking of fish. We have learned to strike fish with a spear in the night, and to allure them by a torch light placed on the outside of a canoe. The scoop net, suspended to one end of a pole with a wooden bow, was their invention. Frost fish were taken with wooden tongs, and black eels in cylindrical baskets, resembling wire mouse traps. Persons exposed to the open air have learned to lay with their feet to the fire, and vegetables are preserved from the frost by being immersed in the sand. The log trap is the result of their ingenuity, and the dragging of meat on the ground in order to entice the animal to his destiny. They taught us the use of snow shoes in cases when journeying would otherwise be impracticable. They preserved meat by putting it into snow, and prepared it for use by drying it in the smoke.

They had learned to catch ducks in the month of August, when the old ones are

unfledged and incapable of making their escape from small creeks. When taken, they can be preserved in smoke or salt for winter. They dress leather in the brains of animals, which give it a peculiar pliancy and softness. Their art of dying hair has not been communicated.

We retain some of their modes of cookery. Their green corn, when either roasted or boiled, is excellent. Their samp and homony consist of corn bruised and soaked or boiled. Their nokehike is parched corn pounded. Suckatash, a mixture of green corn and beans, is become a very common dish. Upaquontop is the head of a bass boiled, and the broth thickened with homony, which is one of their richest delicacies.

They had discovered, that fish was a rich manure. They taught the Europeans how to raise maize, which we call Indian corn, which is a most valuable plant for easy sustentation. Their time to plant was, when the leaves of the white oak were as big as a mouse's ear. We cannot give the natives so much credit for showing us the art of girdling trees.

They had acquired some knowledge respecting the virtues of roots, barks and herbs. Professional improvements have, in a great degree, superseded their use. A blister was raised by burning punk upon the skin. A soft poultice of roots boiled was used to remove inflammations. Fevers

were cured by sweating in a covered hut with the steam of water poured on heated stones. This was succeeded by plunging into cold water. Cures were pretended to be effected by certain mystical ceremonies, remedies depending more on credulity than medicinal efficacy.

Their skill in preventing the power of poison and the bite of venomous serpents from taking effect has not been communicated to the world in a degree by which we can avail ourselves of much advantage from it. They treat it as a mystery. Their own security and relief, however, prove the existence of the art itself.

It is to be lamented, that, among the good things we have transferred from the savages, we have likewise propagated their faults. Many of their superstitious notions have been adopted by the white people, with a docility worthy of a good cause.

The minds of our enlightened countrymen have not yet become free from the belief, that lonely mountains and deep caverns, deserted houses and burying grounds are still the abodes of departed spirits and imaginary beings. Charms and spells, witchcraft and divination have believers still in vulgar minds. Apparitions still make their appearance; and those are not without apprehensions from the agency of invilible beings, who have courage enough not to tremble in the field of battle. These notions of ideal

beings may have been first imported with our ancestral emigrants from England, Ireland and Germany, where they abound ; but they have been greatly increased by a knowledge of those which prevail among the Aborigines of this country. Pagans were always prone to adopt similar opinions ; but christians, who entertain suitable sentiments of God's perfections and universal agency, will never believe, that the management of the universe is abandoned to the control, or can need the intervention, of subordinate agents from the invisible regions.

This view of the arts and the state of improvement among the Indian tribes will give us a very humble opinion of their national power and personal comforts. Their means of enjoyment were also as precarious as they were limited. Any great attainments in knowledge were impossible in such a state of society ; and more information would have made them wretched by being made sensible of their many deficiencies. The ignorance, which concealed from their view higher improvements and greater comforts, proved a blessing to them by riveting their grateful attention to the few mercies they actually possessed. The body can be sustained with a little, and the mind also can learn to be content.

CHAPTER XXVI.

War the great pursuit of savages. Their education military. Enter on war with deliberation. The influence of women. Rites of the order of Huskanaw. Weapons of war few. Stake. Lance. Bows and arrows. Scalping knife. Tomahawk. Modern arms. Indian armory. Ingenious devices. Military appearance. Officers. The best mode of waging war against them. Their mode. Customs in war. Their return home. Treatment of captives. Torture. A specimen of their death song.

IN a savage state, war and hunting are the great objects of pursuit. The arts of peace are few and imperfect, nor are those who cultivate them held in very high estimation. The aged, the women and the children attend to whatever is done in the business of agriculture. The warrior would deem the labor of digging in the earth and toiling in the dust beneath his dignity. Of commerce they have nothing deserving the name ; of science they never heard ; and the arts receive the least possible attention from them. Hunting is the business of the men, and is of course accounted honorable. But it is war which engages the whole soul of the

savage. It is the element in which all his powers are active ; the vital air in which life acts with the greatest vigor. In the lap of peace, he is all rest and indolence ; but in war, he is all action, enterprise and fury.

In the civilized life, *education* principally consists in polishing the manners, pouring instructions into the youthful mind, exhibiting moral principles and strengthening the sense of duty with religious motives. But with the savage, these are not even objects of education. He is taught how to make war, how to surprise an enemy, how to treat a captive, and how to secure victory. The worst passions are encouraged, not suppressed. The mind is not enlightened, but the body is habituated to wield the weapons of destruction with the most fatal effect.

In entering upon a war, they proceed with great *deliberation*. A council of the chiefs is called ; a great fire is made, round which they assemble ; and a principal sachem addresses the rest on the subjects, which called them together. When war is the result of their deliberations, a chief marches round in a circle, inviting those who are for war to join in the circuitous march, while a war song serves to rouse their patriotic zeal to the highest pitch, till the whole assembly, kindling into the same ardor, becomes impatient to be led against the enemy. Feasts are sometimes prepared, when each one, cutting off a piece of a roasted

animal, as he eats, exclaims, "*thus will I devour my enemies.*"

In these warlike measures, the women do not usually join, being, in all countries, agreeably to the gentleness of their natures, the advocates of peace. It is otherwise in some of the more northern nations, where women possess vast influence in their councils, become the conductors of their tribes, and by sending presents of wampum to the more influential warriors, who are not deemed sufficiently eager for war, generally secure them in their interest, until they collect the elements for the storm of war.

In order to excite this warlike spirit, the Indians in Virginia established a kind of *military order* of nobility, which they called "*Huskanaw.*" The rites of initiation were rigid, and sometimes dangerous; but were deemed necessary for all who expected to arrive at any high offices in the gift of their countrymen. The candidates for admission into the order were taken away to a retired place, where they continued for about 20 days. A poisonous juice expressed from a plant was given them to drink, the qualities of which, like the Lethean waters, made them forget their former prejudices, attachments and habits, in order that pure reason might act with freedom from the improper bias of early education. On a return to their tribes, they were received with every mark of pre-eminence and respect, as per-

sons of a higher order. If they manifested a recollection of events previous to initiation, they had to go through the same rites again with redoubled severity, which always produced a temporary delirium, and often a loss of life. The survivor, however, always shared in the highest employments and in the most distinguished honors of his nation.

Their *weapons* of war are very few. Their *war-club* was formed out of a root, or limb of a tree, made into a convenient shape, with a knot at one end, of use in case of a close engagement with an enemy. A *fluke*, hardened in the fire at one end, was used as a sort of spontoon, useful in destroying an enemy, or keeping him at a little distance. Their *lance* was pointed with a flint, or a bone, and annoyed the attacked with less danger to the assailants. Their *bows* were made of strong and elastic wood, and, like that of Ulysses, would often require no feeble arm to bend them. Their *arrows* were armed with heads of flint stone, wrought to a point, which did execution in silence and at no inconsiderable distance. This was one of their most effective instruments both of defence and assault. Since their acquaintance with Europeans, they have been furnished with more formidable weapons. Their *scalping knife*, which has excited so much horror in the minds of their enemies, is now made of iron, and suspended in a

sheath by a string to the neck. The *tomahawk* is an instrument of great importance to them. It is shaped like a hatchet, with a long handle. The head is fitted for knocking down their opposers; the edge is on the other side; and, where the handle pierces the head, another point projects forward, of considerable length, with which they thrust as with a spear. The tomahawk is ornamented with painting and feathers in such a manner as to be significant, like the pipe of peace, on which in hieroglyphics is kept a journal of their marches and important occurrences. When they contemplate war, the tomahawk is colored with red. If war be declared, the same weapon, with a string of wampum, is sent to such other tribes as they wish to engage in the war. It is thrown on the ground, and, if taken up by an expert warrior, it is considered as a sign that they join in carrying on the contest. In their late combats, their weapons of war are the tomahawk, the scalping knife and the firelock. In the use of these, no men are more dexterous.

On Long-Island, has lately been found a large quantity of *stones*, of a peculiar figure, and to the amount of some tons. They were used, no doubt, as weapons of war, and were a species of spear heads. Such vast multitudes of a similar size and shape point out the spot where they were deposited as the site of one of their ancient armories.

They use many ingenious expedients to communicate their ideas to their absent friends. By erecting a pole and marking its shadow on the sand or pointing it so as to cast no shadow they are able to inform their followers, at what time of the day they were in such a place, and by lopping down a few small bushes they clearly intimate which way they are gone. By a few rude images on the bark of trees, they communicate to others whatsoever intelligence they deem important.

Their *military appearance* is as odd as it is terrific. They cut off all their hair, except a spot on the crown of the head ; and this is divided into several parcels, each of which is stiffened with beads and intermixed with feathers of various colors and curious shapes. They paint themselves with a red pigment towards the eyebrows, which they sprinkle with white down. The gristles of their ears are slit almost entirely round, and hung with ornaments. Their noses being bored are hung with strings of beads. Their faces are painted with a strange variety of colors, so as to bear little resemblance of human beings. On their breasts, they are fond of wearing some glittering medal made of brass, copper, or some other metal. Some tribes are in the habit of interweaving a new ring into their hair each year ; by which means the chiefs in particular designate their age.

They have many military *officers*. Every ten men have usually one commander ; and every hundred men have one general. These do not order, but advise. They have no regular discipline, no system of war. Every one goes to war, or recedes from it, precisely at the time and in the manner he pleases. Each nation has a distinct ensign, generally consisting of some beast, bird, or fish, by which the tribes are distinguished, and the pictures of these animals are pricked or painted on several parts of their bodies.

Their women accompany them as they march to war, to aid them on their way ; but return home before the commencement of the battle. No provisions are taken, but a bag of corn. As they proceed, they spread out into small hunting parties ; by which means they find an easy subsistence. When they approach the enemy, they collect into one body. It is seldom they make use of any fortification ; and, when they do, it is nothing more than a square without bastions, surrounded with palisadoes. This was merely an asylum for the old men, women and children, when the warriors were absent. It is never their policy to meet an enemy in the open field. Every thing is managed with secrecy and stratagem. They seldom fall upon an enemy, except they find him unprepared, or victory is well nigh certain to be the result of an attack. When they

make an onset, it is sudden, furious, and well nigh irresistible. In the day time, they conceal themselves in the grass and bushes, and behind rocks and trees. If they can, they lead an enemy into ambush, whence it is nearly impossible to escape. Their usual time to make an attack is just before the dawn of day. They commence with the war-whoop and with horrid yells, sounds which savages only can make, and the goddess of discord only could bear. The onset is too furious to be lasting. Certain death, or joyous victory soon comes to put an end to the maddened conflict.

It is the object of Indians to *extend their line* as far as possible, with the view of surrounding their enemies, and attacking them in every quarter at the same time. The best means of attacking the Indians with any hope of success are, to be always prepared for their onset; never to trust to appearances; never to consider danger to be less than when there appears to be none; never to depend on any engagements, short of a solemn treaty of peace, made in all its forms; but, when an attack is made, the greatest success has been obtained by rushing upon them with the bayonet, without firing a single gun, till they are dislodged from all their lurking places, and by pursuing them with such vigor as to prevent them from loading their guns, or recovering their spirits. They very seldom make more

than one attack; during a single campaign, except they are accustomed to attack the rear of a retreating foe. They generally fly before an enemy, and do not seem to have thought of the policy of passing by him, in order to wage war on the frontier towns in the rear of an advanced army. They retreat or advance, just as individuals judge best. That they do not meet their enemy in the open field does not appear to be the result of cowardice and fear; but it arises from the nature of the weapons they use, from their sentiments of honorable war, and from immemorial usage. In their own peculiar method of fighting, no soldiers can be found superior to them; but in forts and regular battles they are deficient, because they are strangers to the European mode of contest. By them it is deemed honorable to lose but few men; and a victory, purchased with the loss of many lives, would be more a subject of regret than of joy to any tribe.

When they are *vanquished*, they usually manifest a desire to bury the hatchet and welcome the return of peace. Sometimes, they prefer leaving their old habitations and seeking new ones, farther removed from those they dread. If *victory* declare in their favor, their excesses as well as joys are very extravagant. They wish to exterminate their enemies; and death generally proves their lot. If they are preserved, it

is usually to suffer. They scalp the dead, and preserve the scalps as so many trophies of their valor, ostentatiously displayed upon poles near their dwellings, or suspended to their wigwags. They do not bury the bodies of their enemies slain in battle ; but, like the ancient nations of the east, leave them to consume above ground, a prey to birds, dogs and wild beasts. It is an error that they eat their enemies, except it is the practice of some tribes just to taste of a small piece of their flesh, as an action significant of the entire destruction of them. When they return victorious from battle, they do not immediately return to their own villages, but give some signs by which the fate of the conflict may be known. Some time is spent in collecting the spoils of the vanquished, for which they are so eager as most frequently to allow their enemy who survives to make a safe retreat.

When they *return home*, they are met by their wives and friends, at some distance from their towns. One of their orators arises, and gives a history of all the most important events which have occurred, during the campaign. The raptures of those who receive their friends alive and safe from dangers, as well as loaded with spoils, are extravagant and unbounded. Lamentations over those who have fallen are equally wild and excessive. There is no medium, and no consolation is admitted.

The *captives*, when they escape the tomahawk and the scalping knife, are very differently treated. Every prisoner is in the power of some Indian master, who is the arbiter of life or death. Those captives, who seem the most cheerful, best natured and resigned to their condition, are sure to receive a better treatment. They are often adopted into an Indian family, where a husband or a son has been killed. The moment they are so adopted, they are treated with every mark of attention and with every degree of kindness. They have all possible liberty, excepting that of returning home. Revenge, however, often takes place of all the finer feelings of humanity, and the captives are treated with the utmost severity. Sometimes, they are beaten and every indignity offered them. Sometimes, they are made to run the gauntlet. At other times, the tomahawk is sunk into their heads, or the most dreadful tortures are prepared for them, which terminate only with life. If an Indian be a sufferer, he seems to glory in the tortures he feels, teaches his tormentors new methods of increasing distress, and ridicules their impotence to hurt him. The fortitude of such seems often more than human. Not a groan, not a sigh, not a tear ever escapes them. During this scene of suffering, with an unaltered countenance they sing the *song of death*, saying ;
“*Intrepid and brave, I feel no pain, and I fear*

no torture. I have slain, I have conquered, I have burnt my enemies; and my countrymen will avenge my blood. Ye are a nation of dogs, of cowards and of women. Ye know not how to conquer, to suffer, or to torture. Prolong and increase my torments, that ye may learn from my example, how to suffer and to behave like men !"

These tortures are rare, and are reserved as honors for warriors. Incapable of moving souls of such fortitude, and wearied out with the labor of tormenting, a chief in a rage puts an end to the horrid scene by striking his hatchet into the head of the sufferer, who rose triumphantly above the fear of that awful mode of dying, which they had prepared for him.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The morals of the Indians. Essential to society. Few virtues and vices. Temptations few. Morality connected with intellectual improvement. No general system of rules. Few motives to duty. The power of natural religion. Enumeration of their virtues and vices. The northern tribes little improved. Specimen of parental instructions. The Missouri. Not benefitted by European intercourse. The opinions entertained by savages of the morals of white people.

THE practice of certain moral virtues is necessary to the existence of society. Vice has no tendency to unite men, but rather to burst asunder every bond of union. All confidence must soon be lost, when nothing is deemed sacred; and goodwill to man will cease to be felt, when every duty is violated without remorse. Wherever we find associations formed, there must be some ties of virtue, which have connected them together.

Among savages it is not to be expected, that the moral virtues should be either very numerous, or perfect. As their relations are few, their duties will be more limited; and as their commercial intercourse is not ex-

tensive, few regulations will be necessary. Living almost upon common stock, temptations to what is wrong can hardly have existence. As the institution of property is scarcely known among them, the selfish appetites are too feeble to create much disturbance, or to interfere with the rights of others. They have nothing like riches, which require power to keep off the hands of the unjust and the rapacious. Certain virtues, of course, are rendered more secure by the removal of temptation itself.

We shall find among savages but few vices and as few virtues. Before there can be many of either, their intercourse with each other must be enlarged, and their social connexions multiplied. Both their virtues and vices will be such as arise out of their peculiar state of society and singular condition of life.

Morality is always very nearly connected with the degree of information and *intellectual improvement*. As the most learned pagans were extremely deficient in their systems of morals, so we may much more expect this will be the case among those, whom science has never enlightened. Nothing but the gospel of Christ has yet been found to carry moral and social virtues to any high degree of excellence and perfection. Moral rules require much abstract reasoning, to which the ignorant savage is least inclined. His mind fixes on particular ob-

jects of desire, and concerns itself very little about general relations. Our actions, in the direction of which morality is chiefly concerned, are so numerous, that it becomes utterly impossible to prescribe a particular rule appropriate to each particular action. General rules must then be established. Divine revelation has done this with great simplicity and to great effect ; but the wise Greeks and Romans, with all the light of human science, never made much progress in this most important branch of knowledge. The great teacher who came down from heaven adopted a peculiar and most useful mode of instruction, that of suggesting a general rule of action, and then giving an example to illustrate it. To do to others as we would they should do to us, is a general rule of right founded in eternal rectitude, easy to be remembered, and as easy to be applied to practice. Such a rule in morals is as important a discovery as that of gravity in the motion of worlds. The making known to men such a simple and practical rule of right alone would entitle Christ to the style of the world's great benefactor. The gospel contains many moral rules of equal importance with this. But the savages had no such rules of moral right, no such standards, to which they could refer, by which what was wrong could be either discerned or corrected.

The savages are as much wanting in mo-

tives to moral duties as they are in knowledge. The sense of the Deity and genuine religion are inseparably connected with a steady course of moral and social duties. Men will daily break through the feeble restraints which a regard to fashion, the sense of honor and the ties of interest can impose. Something more sacred is wanting. Everlasting happiness or misery must be the only effectual sanctions and results of all our actions. The soul must have a discernment of its immortality, and the body almost feel itself rising from the dead, a divine lawgiver must utter his voice, and faith must perceive the ultimate awards both of justice and of grace, before guilt will tremble, and goodness will run through the lucid circle of moral duties. But the motives to these virtues must have been few as they were feeble, since the savage mind scarcely had a single glance at one of all these solemn and impressive realities.

But neither God nor duty are without a witness in the world. The Indians read in the volume of nature truths which none is so rude as not to be able to understand. Reason and conscience raise a voice which will be heard by all. To this the savage listened, and of course was certain to be instructed in a part of his duty. But his virtues were few ; and these seemed to be more the offspring of convenience and necessity

than of that voluntary choice which gives them value in a religious view.

Among the few virtues which the Indians practise is that of *hospitality*. The stranger, who goes among them unarmed and asks their protection, is sure to find it. If hungry, he is fed ; if naked, he is clothed ; if cold, he is warmed ; he lives upon the best they have ; and nothing is required as a reward for all the favors they can lavish upon him. This is a great virtue among them ; and, without it, travelling among them would be impossible, while in a civilized state, it is of minor importance, because the comforts of life are to be obtained in a different way in well regulated societies.

Friendship is an affection exceedingly ardent in them. Through a desire to save one who has shown them kindness, they have suffered an entire expedition to fail of success. In trade they are honest ; and they are astonished at the crimes which white people commit, in order to accumulate a little property. Among themselves all possessions are safe. No doors, locks, keys and bars are necessary to guard what is their own. Their lips utter no falsehoods to each other, and want of good faith is used to punish enemies only. Quarrelling is instantly restrained, and the only contention is to live like brethren. They have no names for several of the most enormous vices which so frequently disturb the tranquillity of civil

society, because such crimes do not exist among them. If they have few virtues, this deficiency is balanced by a freedom from vices.

The Indians possess astonishing patience and equanimity of mind. They have a command over almost every other passion, excepting that of revenge. The most sudden misfortunes are borne with perfect composure of mind, and the countenance bears marks even of cheerfulness amidst the most untoward incidents. The young, with the most exemplary docility, listen to the instructions of the aged. All burn with the flame of patriotism, and celebrate with zeal the heroic deeds of their ancestors. They are taught what is the interest of their country, and they need no new motives to urge them to pursue it with undeviating ardor. They are always ready to aid each other, and every thing they have lies at the disposal of a friend. No one suffers by want, while any one has any thing to give away. They have no taxes, because all are ready to offer their personal services to the public. They need no hospital, because all give attention to the sick. They do not ever ask charity, because every one offers it. They have no prisons, because their crimes are few, and offenders are punished by exclusion from society, whenever they become dangerous. Their character is a mixture of virtues and vices, of beauties and blemish-

es. Courage and cowardice alternately affect their minds ; and they are more anxious to punish crimes than to reward virtues.

The following exhortation of a Mexican to his son has been given to the public as a *specimen of their morality* “ My son, thou art come into the light from the womb of thy mother, like a chicken from the egg, and like it art preparing to fly through the world. We know not how long heaven will grant us the enjoyment of that precious gem which we possess in thee ; but however short the period, endeavor to live exactly, praying God continually to assist thee. He created thee ; thou art his property. He is thy father ; and loves thee still more than I do ; repose in him thy thoughts, and day and night direct thy sighs to him. Reverence and salute thy elders, and hold no one in contempt. To the poor and distressed be not dumb, but rather use words of comfort. Honor all persons, particularly thy parents, to whom thou owest obedience, respect and service. Guard against imitating the example of those wicked sons, who, like brutes that are deprived of reason, neither reverence their parents, listen to their instructions, nor submit to their correction ; because whosoever follows their steps will have an unhappy end, will die in a desperate or sudden manner, or will be killed and devoured by wild beasts. Mock not, my son, the aged, or the imperfect. Scorn not him, whom

you see fall into some folly or transgression, nor make him a reproach, but restrain thyself, and beware lest thou fall into the same error which offends thee in another. Go not where thou art not called, nor interfere in that which does not concern thee. Endeavor to manifest thy good breeding in all thy words and actions. In conversation do not lay thy hands upon another, nor speak too much, nor interrupt another's discourse. When any one discourses with thee, hear him attentively, and hold thyself in an easy attitude, neither playing with thy feet, nor putting thy mantle to thy mouth, nor spitting too often, nor looking about you here and there, nor rising up frequently, if thou art sitting ; for such actions are indications of levity and low breeding. Steal not, nor give thyself to gaming, otherwise thou wilt be a disgrace to thy parents, whom thou oughtest to honor for the education they have given thee. If thou wilt be virtuous, thy example will put the wicked to shame. No more, my son ; enough has been said in discharge of the duties of a father. With these counsels I wish to fortify thy mind. Refuse them not, nor act in contradiction to them ; for on them thy life and all thy happiness depend."

The more *northern* Indians, however, are not equally solicitous upon moral subjects. It is certain, however, that they are not such barbarians as some have represented them.

The Jesuits and the Recollects had particular inducements to publish and contradict each other as they did. Those, who have been among them, and have known them intimately, speak of them in more favorable terms. Many of the French, the British and the American citizens, whose lot has been cast among them for a time, have refused ever afterward to return to the bosom of their friends and to the society of the civilized.

Nor have the Europeans taught them the principles of moral and social duty. High up the Missouri, where the white people have seldom been, the natives are not ignorant upon these most interesting subjects. Though they have no regular laws, nor judges, nor priests, still their instructions are excellent. They are generous, courageous and active. Those who live in a christian land would hear lessons against cheating and slander which would raise blushes, if they had blood within them. Their huts are open night and day, and their honesty is a perfect security. Their old men are considered as oracles. Unable to pursue the chase, or to engage in war, these veterans instruct the rising generation. Sitting on the tops of their huts, they talk to their pupils the greater part of the day. They openly blame those who violate the rules of moral duty and social propriety. They recommend to all to be tender hearted, and to live in peace. They repeat continually,

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that "the great master of life, the Great Spirit," loves those who have reasonable sentiments, are liberal, peaceable, who respect age, who do equal justice to all men, and who frequently make offerings to the great master of life of the flesh of fat cows.

We entertain a very low opinion of the savages ; it is certain they entertain as low a one both of us and of our morality. Conrad Weiser was sent on a message from the governor of Pennsylvania to the council at Onondago. On his way, he called on Canassatego, an Indian of his acquaintance, who received him with rapture, spread furs for his seat, presented boiled beans and venison for his repast, mixed rum and water for his drink, and lighting his pipe, inquired respecting his health for these many years, and what had occasioned his present journey. All his questions were answered, and the conversation began to flag. To continue it, the Indian thus spoke. "Conrad, you have lived among the white people, and know something of their customs. I have been sometimes at Albany, and have observed that once in seven days they shut up their shops, and all assemble in the great house. Tell me what it is for, and what it is they do there. They meet there, says Conrad, to hear and learn good things. I doubt not, says the Indian, that they tell you so, for they have told me the same. But I doubt the truth of what they

say ; and I will tell you my reasons. I went lately to Albany to sell my skins, and to buy blankets, knives, powder, rum and other things. You know, I used to deal with Hans Hanson ; but I was a little inclined this time to try some other merchant. However, I called first upon Hans, and asked what he would give for beaver. He said, he would not give more than four shillings a pound. But, says he, I cannot talk on this business now ; this is the day we meet together to hear good things ; and I am going to the meeting. So I thought to myself, since I cannot do any business to day, I may as well go to the meeting too ; and I went with him. There stood up a man in black, and began to talk to the people very angrily. I did not understand what he said ; but perceiving he looked much at me and at Hanson, I imagined he was angry at seeing me there. So I went out, sat down near the house, struck fire, and lighted my pipe, waiting till the meeting should break up. I thought too that the man had mentioned something about beaver, and suspected that it might be the subject of their meeting. So when they came out, well, Hans, says I, I hope you have agreed to give me more than four shillings a pound. No, says he, I cannot give so much ; I cannot give more than three shillings and six pence. I then spoke to several other dealers, but they all sung

the same song, three-and-six-pence, three-and-six-pence. This made it clear to me, that my suspicion was right; and whatever they pretended of meeting to learn good things, the real purpose was to consult how to cheat Indians in the price of beaver. Consider but a little, Conrad, and you will be of my opinion. If they meet so often to hear good things they certainly would have learned some before this time. But they are still ignorant. You know our practice; if a white man, travelling through our country, enters one of our cabins, we all treat him as I treat you. We dry him, if he is wet; we warm him, if he is cold; and give him meat and drink, that he may satisfy his thirst and hunger; and we spread soft furs that he may rest and sleep upon them. We demand nothing in return. But if I go into a white man's house in Albany, and ask for victuals and drink, they ask, where is your money? And if I have none, they say, get out, you Indian dog. You see they have not learned those little good things, which we need no meetings to be instructed in, because our mothers taught them to us, when we were children; and, therefore, it is impossible their meetings should be, as they say, for any such purpose, or have any such effect. They are only to contrive the cheating of Indians in the price of their beaver."

It is to be lamented, that the intercourse

of Europeans has had no tendency to teach them morals ; while the savages think *they* have reason to lament the deficiencies of the white people in the practice of the moral and social duties.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Importance of religion. Connected with knowledge. Human sacrifices. Religion in Mexico. In Peru. At the Natchez. Panieses in New-England. Pollytheists. Ideas of a God. Of the devil. Powaws. Opinions of the Narragansets. Of a future state. The name of God. Genii. Superstitions. Witchcraft. Excessive mourning for the dead. Manner of burying. Immortality of the soul. Religious assemblies. Fasts. Festivals. Prayers. English attempt to convert the savages to the christian faith. Efforts of the United States to meliorate their condition.

AS the soul is of more value than the perishing body and as eternity exceeds in duration an instant of time, so much does religion transcend every other concern of mortals. It manifests the wisdom as well as the goodness of the Deity so to have constituted the original system of things, that the most important truths should appear to be the plainest. Men find much more obscurity in useless speculations than doubt in the great practical duties of life. The savage, who could not soon comprehend a metaphysical question, would be at no loss

respecting what was right between man and man. Although no one single ray from the light of divine revelation has shone on the road to heaven, and no messenger from God has instructed him in his will, yet the untutored mind perceives the Great Spirit in every department of nature, and, while he beholds, he feels it a duty to adore.

We indeed find whole tribes without a temple and a priest, without an altar or a sacrifice, but no where do we perceive them to be without *some knowledge* of the great First Cause. The soul, which emanated from the Deity, seems to have a tendency to rise in its views towards him, from whom it originated. There is something in our hopes and fears and feelings, which conducts our thoughts up from weakness and want to the great source of dependance and being and blessedness.

The national character is intimately connected with the national religion. In the government of Mexico, which verged towards a despotic monarchy, their religion also partook of the spirit of the age, and became rigid and severe. Even *human sacrifices* were offered in order to appease the gods, whom they worshipped. Authors state the number of human victims made every year at twenty thousand, some at more than double this number. Such an astonishing waste of the human species for religious offerings has not been known,

since the period when the ancient Molock was so worshipped in Palestina.

In Peru, a much *milder* religion prevailed, more accordant with the gentle nature of that singular people. Here, religion and government were mild and benevolent. The attributes of the God whom they loved and adored were all mercy and excellence ; and it was the study of the worshippers to resemble in their own tempers and characters him whom they served. No human blood stained their altars ; no unnatural severity was adopted as a religious rite ; and few crimes could be offered as proofs that they were not sincere. As they worshipped the sun, so it was their endeavor to imitate that source of light and beneficial influence in their own actions.

The *Natchez* Indians were once reckoned among the most powerful as well as most enlightened on this continent, but are now dwindled down to a few hundreds of contemptible beings. They still worship the sun. They offered human sacrifices, till falling within the jurisdiction of the United States, a stop was put to rites so unnatural and horrid. At a feast on the first of May, they still light a calumet and present it to the sun. Sometimes, in their more pious fervors, they cast all their property, to the amount of several thousand dollars, into the fire, while their priests and warriors, men, women and children,

in separate circles, dance and sing around the flames. These sacred fires were formerly considered to be eternal, like those of Vesta ; but, within a few years, they have become intermittent, and are kindled only on some of their solemn feasts. They have different grades of gods both good and evil, whom they consider as the authors of all blessings and mischiefs they ever experience. The one superior good spirit they call " Kilchi Manitoo," or great unknown spirit ; and one superior bad spirit they denominate " Matchi Manitoo," or wicked being. The upsetting of a canoe, or the agitations of a storm are laid to the charge of him, as being supremely mischievous.

The *Paniefes* in New-England were an aristocratical order of men, resembling that of the *Huskanaw* in Virginia. They were selected from the rest of their countrymen in childhood. The objects in view were partly military, partly political and partly religious. They distinguished themselves in war by acts of heroism. As statesmen, they always in peace and war surrounded the person of the king as his counsellors. In religion, they did penance, and dreadful were the severities they inflicted on themselves. Like the *Huskanaw*, they drank a poisonous juice, as a part of the rites of initiation into the mysteries of the order, and with a view that some evil spirit might appear to them. Those, who are fond of

tracing the origin of nations from affinities of languages, may find some room for speculation in the resemblances between the Indian Panieses and the predecessors of king Avander in Arcadia in Italy, who were primitively called "Pani" and afterwards Fauni. The Panieses worshipped Ketan, a god which signifies *wood*; and the Italian Pani were supposed to spring from trunks of *trees* and hard wood, a sentiment which agrees with the modern scheme of a local creation, adopted by late infidel philosophers. Other resemblances are still more striking; and Virgil shall give the description of the ancient race of the Pani, and every reader will see how it agrees with the Aborigines of America.

"Gensque virum truncis et duro robore
nata :

Queis negue mos, negue cultus erat; nee
jungere tauros,

Aut componere opes norant, aut parcere
parto ;

Sed rami, atque asper victu venatus ale-
bat."

Lib. 8, 315.

The original natives entertained very rude notions concerning religion. Many of them believed in a *plurality of gods*, which made them opposed to the adoption of the christian system. A chief on the banks of Merrimack river said, that he believed in 37 gods, and should he give any credit to the

christian religion which held to only one ? The Indians, however, had some conceptions of one Supreme Being, exalted above all the rest in power and glory, whom they styled, *the great man above, the great spirit, the master of life*. Him they called in New-England, Ketan, or Kichtan, to whom they prayed ; and to whom, in case he granted them health, plenty and victory, they promised furs, offerings and valuable presents. Their worship consisted of singing, giving thanks, feasting, dancing and hanging up garlands as memorials of former favors.

They had a strong faith in the existence of an evil spirit, whom they denominated *Hobbamock*, resembling the devil mentioned in the christian scriptures. To common people he did not often choose to render himself visible ; but the Panieses and powaws, the priests and the chiefs pretended to see him frequently, discriminating him in the shape of some fawn, or other animal, but more frequently in that of a *snake*, which is a singular coincidence with the Mosaic account. They are said sometimes to have sacrificed their own beloved children to him. They believed in one primitive pair, from whom the whole human race proceeded.

Their priests were called *powaws*. These united in one person the two offices of priest and physician. To these priests they paid a reverence, bordering on divine worship. It is probable, that they derived some

of their idolatrous notions from the Roman Catholics in Canada. A few images were found in their possession, but these, they said, came from the north. When the Europeans came among them, religion had greatly declined. Kichtan, they said, had formerly been much more addressed.

The *Narraganset* Indians offered sacrifices. They had temples, and stated times for worship. The oblations were entirely voluntary ; and into the sacred fires the richest treasures of the people were cast. The more northern tribes considered their exemplary piety as the means of preserving them from the ravages of the plague, or yellow fever, which had destroyed so many of the neighboring nations.

The most of the Indians entertain very reverential conceptions of one God, whom they call the Great Spirit, a being eternal, invisible, benevolent, powerful and perfect. Their *heaven* is towards the southwest, whence fair weather usually proceeds, and where their God, of course, would choose to reside. It is a Mahometan paradise, made up of ever bearing cornfields, flowery meads, pleasant rivers, clear skies, perpetual health, curious wigwams, good hunting, plentiful fishing, fine fowling, and a full store of Wampompeag. Their enemies also were provided with a place of spontaneous torture. Both their heaven and hell were the offspring of their own wishes,

and were copies, of which their own hearts were the originals.

Some writers have asserted, that the natives were so ignorant of the things of religion, that they had not a *name* for the Deity. It ought to have been recollected, that all names of spiritual things are taken from natural objects. The Hebrew name of God intimated incommunicable existence, or *self sufficiency*, the Greek Jupiter was derived from a word which signifies *to live*, the Roman implies a *creator*, the Saxon word God is of the same etymology as *good*, whilst the Indian name of the Deity is as significant as any etymon of them all. Richtan was the name of God adopted by the Indians in New-England, but Manitoo was a much more common word, and this signified, *excellent*, and few words in any language can be found more significant of the divine nature. It is obvious, that all languages must fail in conveying to us any adequate conceptions of the essence of a spiritual being, infinite and incomprehensible. They conceived, that God existed in a variety of things, their minds aiming to attain some knowledge of his attribute of omnipresence. They used the same word in a subordinate sense, and when they saw any thing *excellent*, they would exclaim, Manitoo, a God !

The more northern nations believed in an infinite number of *genii*, which were subaltern spirits, both good and bad. These

were supposed to exert great influence over the fortunes of men, and to have extensive control in the affairs of the world.

Pagans are remarkable for a credulous and a severe *superstition*. The Indian priests are great jugglers. They credit the efficacy of magic and witchcraft. They have nocturnal orgies, boil blood in a caldron, adopt mystic rites, howlings and singular dances, depend on the efficacy of supernatural means, as well as on the powerful agency of malignant spirits. Their priests are not unacquainted with the arts of legerdemain. They preserve their own influence and create veneration for their persons and offices by pretending to be able "to make water burn, rocks move, trees dance, to metamorphose men into flames, make a green leaf out of the ashes of a dry one, and produce a living snake from the skin of another."

The evils, flowing from their full belief in the existence of *witchcraft* and in the power of fascination, in the reality of a modern spirit of prophecy and the agency of invisible genii, are great and distressing. They are sources of constant uneasiness, deception and persecution. The artful are always taking advantage of the weak and credulous. The few are rising to power and consequence by imposing these deceptions upon the many. The terrible scene of supposed witchcraft at Salem, where so many suffer-

ed by this delusion, originated, in a great measure, from stories told by an Indian and his squaw to the two children who were first infected with these notions in the family of the Rev. Mr. Paris of that town, whose credulity as well as that of governor Phips with many of their contemporaries was not much less extravagant than that of the savages. The Shawanese prophet, Meanem-ficheh, at Tippacanoe, would still have some followers in most parts of enlightened America and Europe. There is either a pleasure in the faith of things incomprehensible, or men seem delighted with the imposition. The fancy of spirits inhabiting deserted houses and the existence of imaginary beings are not yet worn out of the minds of many. Superstition still keeps off witches by the help of the horse shoe, or knows how to kill them with a silver ball. In christian countries, there are still charms and spells believed, lucky and unlucky days, and much of the savage remaining in a thousand forms of mystery and wild fanaticism. The infallibility of human creeds, and consequent persecution for religious opinions, which many seem desirous of reviving in our lands, is not less irrational than the exploded notions of witchcraft.

The savages indulge a singular mixture of contrary passions, of courage and cowardice, of magnanimity and despondency. They are impatient of sickness, and fearful

of death. This is obvious from their sobs and sighs, tears and shrieks. Their *mourning* for the dead is excessive. No comfort seems to survive, and over the grave they shudder, while they raise a kind of "Irish like howlings." It gives them great distress ever to hear any more even the names of the deceased. King Philip sought to slay John Gibbs, because he accidentally made mention of a friend of his, who had been dead for some time.

They *bury their dead*, sometimes in an erect, and sometimes in a sitting posture. When they desert a country, they often collect the bones of their deceased friends, and deposit them beneath a huge mound of earth. They bury with the dead, food, bows and arrows, pipes and whatsoever pleased them most while living, or might be necessary in the country of souls.

They believe in the *immortality* of the soul, without the help of metaphysics. Their sentiments, however, are gross and imperfect on this subject. The *chickung*, the shadow, that which survives the body, they imagine, will at death go into some unknown, but curious place. The wicked will be punished chiefly by mere privation of the pleasures reserved for the good. Both rewards and punishments are founded on their conduct towards mankind, and not on any relation which subsists between them and the Supreme Being. Of the resurrection of the

body they were ignorant. Their worship consisted of two parts, sacrifice and cantico. The latter is made up of songs and dances. They thank the Great Spirit for all mercies, and readily acknowledge his government and providence.

Their *religious assemblies* were frequent. In case of long continued dry weather, their solemn *fasts* were prolonged for weeks, or till rain came. Their attachment to their children is very great, and at their decease they address solemn prayers to heaven. After their harvest and season of hunting, they used to have religious festivals, in order to express their gratitude to their divine Benefactor. Carver relates, that an Ottawa chief, at his departure from him, offered up an audible prayer with great solemnity for his prosperity under the divine protection.

Attempts were very early made to *convert* the natives to christianity. The injuries received from the white people were the principal obstacles. They saw that this religion had not sufficiently amended the conduct of those who professed to believe in its mysteries, nor had it harmonized their affections nor united their faith. The bible, however, was translated into several of their languages, though they had not attained the art of reading it. Mayhew and Elliot were early apostles among them, Kirkland and Sargent were later, all filled with primitive charity and zeal. Churches were formed

and preachers supported liberally by the English. In some towns, large numbers of Indians formally joined in communion. These converts were styled "*praying Indians*," but, too often it was apparent, that they had not "*put off the old man*." Some of them even became schoolmasters and preachers. Societies still exist in several New-England plantations.

The *Roman Catholic religion*, more captivating by external splendor, seems to suit the taste of the savages much better than any form of protestant worship, which is more simple, and regards external ceremonies less than the conduct of the heart. Some of the Canadian catholic churches are elegant and rich structures, have French priests and are stately crowded with worshippers, apparently very serious. The Jesuits found, or made them exceedingly docile and submissive.

The United States have attempted with some success to *civilize* the western savages. They have carried the arts into their country. The loom and the plough are already in motion. Some tribes now begin to see the advantages of fixed habitations and cultivated fields. Useful animals are rapidly multiplying, and new comforts reach their dwellings. Their children are taught to read, and the wilderness teems with blessings not its own. Knowledge, however, must be increased among them, before much

can be expected. Their implicit reliance on dreams, witchcraft, magic, prophets and priests must be destroyed, or imposture will be successful, and their degradation as well as wretchedness certain. When the useful arts shall have increased the means of subsistence, when something like science shall have thrown light into their darkened minds, when civilization shall have produced order and have laid restraints upon their wild passions, then the mild religion of the Redeemer can be introduced with salutary effects, and be made to yield a rich harvest of christian virtues, producing purity, light and felicity, favoring of heaven, and worthy of its origin.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Indian ANTIQUITIES. Traces of old villages. Barrows. Embalming. A well. Burying the dead. Idol. Forts. Inscriptions. Subterranean wall. Cup. Vases. Giants. Mammoth. PRESENT STATE of the Indians. In South America. In North America. Towards the Pacific Ocean. Within the United States. Their numbers greatly diminished. Warriors. Northwestern forts taken. Indians still numerous around the lakes. Capture at Detroit. Indian hostilities renewed in 1812.

A COMPLETE description of Indian *antiquities* alone would make a volume. Every part of America can furnish some of these. Vestiges of *old fields* and *villages* may be traced in every region and in every climate. *Barrows* for the sepulture of the dead are yet to be seen, where the less perishable parts of the body and of the articles buried with them afford indubitable proofs of their use. Near Lexington in Kentucky, bodies have been dug up in such a state of preservation as to excite a suspicion, that the natives were not strangers to the art of *embalming*. In the same town, was also discovered a *well* artificially stoned, beneath a

flat rock which had long concealed it. From coals, ashes and burned bones found on the Scioto, mingled together, it has been conjectured, that it was once customary there to *burn their dead* on a funeral pyre. Near East Hartford in Connecticut was found an Indian *Idol*, about 32 inches high, made of white granite, with the figure of a cap on its head ; and so lately as the last century, a powaw and religious rites were performed before it, on occasion of interring a sachem of the Farmington tribe. The Chippewas retain still their ancestral ceremonies of religion.

The Indian *forts* at the westward are deemed great curiosities. The one at Chillicothe is a mile in diameter. You can scarcely ride twenty miles in Ohio without meeting with some of these. That at Marietta has been examined with the greatest accuracy. It lies on an extensive plain. The square fort alone contains 40 acres, surrounded by walls of earth from 6 to 10 feet high, and from 25 to 36 feet thick. It has 12 gate-ways, 3 on each side, at equal distances. It has a covered way, once ending at the river Muskingum, with parallel walls, 231 feet apart, with a crowning road between, like a turnpike. Within the walls of the fort, there is an oblong, elevated square, 188 feet by 132, and 9 feet high, with regular steps to the top. There are, near this, two other similar squares. Near

by is a circular mound, 30 feet in diameter and 5 feet in height. A mound also guards the openings in the walls for gates. Towards the southeast is a smaller fort, covering 20 acres. On the outside of this, is a mound in the shape of a sugar loaf, 115 feet in diameter, 30 feet in altitude, surrounded by a ditch, 4 feet deep and 15 wide, defended by a parapet 4 feet high, with a gate way to the fort 20 feet wide. Near these are mounds, in which the dead were deposited. The earth composing these works was brought from a distance. About 90 miles further up the western branch of the Muskingum, there is a much larger fort, two miles in extent. On all these grow trees of great magnitude. The present race of Indians have no traditions concerning these works, by whom they were built, what was their use, or who were the enemy, or the conquerors. The timber and other circumstances show, that the events, which these works recognize, took place more than 1000 years ago. It is probable, that these forts were the last stands which some ancient people made against a victorious foe. America also has had her Goths and Vandals, and barbarism has triumphed over a race which once were making approaches towards civilized life.

Ohio and Kentucky, Pennsylvania and New York are the States principally distinguished for Indian antiquities. Georgia, it

has lately been discovered, contributes her proportion. In Jones' county, there are two tumuli, 20 feet high and 150 in circumference. While digging into one of the barrows, they found several mutilated remains of guns, the plates of whose locks were much longer than those now in use. Several farming tools, axes and hoes, of a singular structure, were found. Among other things, was discovered the clapper of a bell, which now weighs 7 pounds, although it has lost much by the influence of oxydization. Near the same spot, was a medal, with obscure hieroglyphic figures upon it, and the word, "*Roma*," very distinguishable. There was every appearance that this place had been an encampment for 100,000 men. On Cedar creek, ten miles distant, a hill is fortified, whose works are still more striking in appearance. Heaps of ashes, containing from one to five hundred bushels, are common, and several on a single acre. In these are pieces of earthen ware curiously figured, one of a diameter of 20 inches. Weights, of a pound avordupois, made of polished flint stone, and circular in shape, were among these. Roads are yet visible, in the middle of which the venerable oak now stands. The Indians declare, these were not their productions. Tradition does not reach so far back into the lapse of ages.

In the fortified camp at Redstone, are

certain *inscriptions* to be seen, earthen urns are dug up, and stone pipes found. On the Muskingum, are *tassellated stones*; hatchets, beads and shells are common. Although the Indians were supposed to be unacquainted with the use of salt, yet *ā pān*, which seemed designed for making it, has been found. In North Carolina has been discovered a prodigious *subterranean wall*. At Nashville in Tennessee, 6 feet below the surface, was dug up a cup in the shape of a *frog*. From the bank of the Wabash was washed out a *vase* of Indian manufacture, originally in possession of gov. W. H. Harrison. In Chenango county in the state of New-York, was found another vase, holding nearly two quarts, considerably adorned. Near Chilicothe are found coats of rusty *mail*, evident traces of about 30 *furnaces*, all on an area of 100 acres, surrounded with a stone wall, which, judging from the present quantity of stone, might have been 15 feet high and 5 thick.

There are ten known *inscriptions* on rocks, all near by water, within the United States. The most remarkable is at Dighton in Massachusetts. It is a hieroglyphic representation, whose meaning has never been deciphered. On one side, it takes up a space a little more than 10 feet by 4. It has some resemblance of human beings, of triangles and parallel lines, but none of them could

be designed as such. What it was intended to represent, it is as yet uncertain.

The ancient race of Indians were of a *gigantic* stature. The mode of burying men of distinction, it appears, was to lay them in a grave and place a large flat stone over them. Several skeletons have been found in Ohio measuring from 8 to 10 feet in height. The present Osage chief, on the borders of the Missouri, is 7 feet. Savages think more of physical endowments than of intellectual.

With the ancient race of Indians, that of ancient *animals* also has become extinct. The mammoth, the largest of land animals, is no more. His bones, defying the attacks of time, are the admiration of passing ages. The continent we inhabit has been the theatre of more improved men and of interesting scenes.

Of the *present race* of Indians much less is known than what might have been expected. In *South America*, their population is still very great. Though taxed and oppressed, they are not destroyed. In Chili, they are yet too powerful for a complete conquest by the Spaniards. Chili can raise about 60,000 warriors, and Paraguay as many more. Some of the islands are both populous and powerful; and Europeans have not been able to take possession of St. Vincent. Amazonia and Patagonia are still invincible; and but a small part of Guia-

na can be held by the Dutch and the French. The Caribbees, who, with the Arvaques, Yaos and Galibis, inhabit it, have long been renowned for valor and have become the terror of invaders. Many of these natives live in populous cities, enjoy many of the arts, while their climate yields all the comforts and a full portion of the luxuries of life. New Mexico has a great variety of nations, of which the Apaches are the most noticed ; and they have been rather appeased than conquered by the Spaniards. The Californians are numerous, and at Quito seem to enjoy a good degree of happiness. They were highly prosperous, well clothed and fed, when the Europeans first came among them.

North America had less numbers, but still was every where settled. The coldest regions are not deserted by them. The Arathapescows and Esquimaux live beyond the 70th degree of north latitude. The English northwestern company has established trading houses some thousands of miles higher up than the cities of Quebec and Montreal. The fur trade is of great value to them ; and by it they keep the savages in subjection to their wishes. Sir John Johnson, in time of war, resides among the warriors, and has some thousands at the control of government, by whom they are clothed, fed and paid. The British nation has adopted the barbarous policy of em-

ploying them against their protestant brethren in the United States ; and it were to be wished that this latter power were entirely free from this iniquity. The Indians say, that the British give them "*a great deal of money, and the United States a great deal of good advice.*"

Beyond the *rocky or shining mountains* to the west, on the way to the Pacific ocean, are very many and highly populous nations of Indians. Their population may have been increased by the tribes which have been driven away by Europeans from the shores of the Atlantic, unwilling they should find a settlement on the eastern side of the great mountains of America. In the Floridas and Louisiana, east of the Mississippi, are the Hoamas, of about 60 persons only, 25 leagues above Orleans ; and, west of the river, near Pointe-Coupee, are several tribes, but greatly diminished in population.

Within the *United States*, many tribes are still remaining. Others, dwindled down to a small number, have lost their names by a consolidation with other nations. Where were formerly 20 millions of natives, there it is not probable that 10 thousand now remain. Few are to be seen in any part of New-England. In 1790, there were about 30 churches of Indians, but the most of them have become extinct. A few plantations in the state of Massachusetts and the district of Maine may possibly number

nearly 100 each. In 1730, Rhode Island could number 985 in all, but these are no more. In New York state, are remnants of several tribes. By a late estimate, the six nations amounted to 6330 souls. All, but one family of the Mohawks, have settled on the Grand river in Upper Canada, owing to their attachment to the family of Sir John Johnson. There are two villages of Senecas on Allegany river. A few Delawares and Skawaghees are settled on Buffalo creek. The Stockbridge and Mohegan tribes are at Oneida. These adopted the Tuscaroras from North Carolina and Virginia. All, but the two last tribes, sided with the British, during the revolutionary contest.

All the tribes are greatly *diminished* in the number of their people, while some tribes are entirely extinct. In Georgia, the Creeks, composed of about 20 ancient tribes united, amount to 17,280 persons and 5860 warriors. The Chactaws were, many years ago, reckoned at 12,123 souls, and 4000 fighting men. The Chickasaws can raise 575 warriors, and the number of people was formerly 1725. The Catabaws, the only tribe in South Carolina, amount to 450 inhabitants only, and have 150 fighting men. The Cherokees, in Tennessee, were once a numerous people; 30 years ago they amounted to 2000 fighting men; they have now not one half of that number. The

Hurons, half a century ago, could raise 700 men ; they now hardly exist as a tribe. The most numerous tribes reside in Canada around the lakes ; the Chippewas and Ottawas on lake Superior ; the Winnebas west of lake Michigan ; and the Saukies and Ottigamies occupy the whole extent of country from the lakes to the Mississippi. The Missouri tribe is powerful, has horses, cultivates the ground, and is remarkably free from acute diseases, from the gout, asthma, palsy and stone. The trade of the United States with this tribe amounted, several years ago, to 78,000 dollars annually.

The author of the Notes on Virginia has given us a catalogue of the Indians, with the places of their residence. They have, since that time, greatly decreased. An agent in the service of the United State has given us a much later estimate. He is able to reckon about 50 distinct nations of Indians in North America, in 1794. The warriors amount to 58,780. The Chipe-was, the most numerous tribe, has 5000 fighting men ; the Chaftaws 4500 ; the Creeks and Pianis 4000 each ; the Missouri, Cawzes and Algoquins, 3000 each. But, in general, each tribe will contain but a few hundred warriors. The Chala tribe has only 130 ; and the Shawanese nation, to which the famous prophet Meanemsiceh belongs, could not bring into the combat with gov. Harrison at Tippacanoë over 450 men.

Fort Michilimackinac is the most northern as well as the most important of any post on the northern and western frontiers. The commerce it controls brings into the revenue of the United States more than 60,000 dollars per year. At this place, and at La Prairie des Chiens connected with it, from three to five thousand Indians, at a time, of various tribes, meet in peace, for the purposes of trade and transacting their business, both private and national.

The savages at the northwest are still exceedingly numerous as well as warlike. In the war between Great Britain and this country, declared 17th June, 1812, almost all the tribes have taken part against the United States. Even the Wyandots, Chippewas, Ottawas, Pattawatamies, Munsees, Delawares, Sioux and other tribes, who had lately made the warmest professions of friendship to the government of the United States, now became most hostile, and going over to the enemy, accepted the tomahawk and the scalping knife. In the taking of the important forts Michilimackinac, and Chicago or Dearborn, 1021 from various tribes at the former and many hundreds at the latter were engaged with uncommon union and zeal. At the battle at Brownstown, 750 were among the British troops, of whom many were killed, and among the wounded was Tecumseh, a distinguished warrior, the brother of the

Shawanese prophet, Meanemficeh. General William Hull, in the account of his capture at Detroit, speaks of the Indians as equaling in multitudes the northern hive, which formerly overran Europe. With the few exceptions of the Miamis and Delawares, almost every tribe of Indians, north from beyond lake Superior, west from beyond the Mississippi, south from Ohio and Wabash, and east from all Upper Canada, with all those of the intermediate country, had joined in open hostility. Among the present warriors, Tecumseh, Manpolt, Walk-in-the-water and Split-log are the most distinguished as well for warlike achievements as for hostility.

Since their successes at Detroit, they are flushed with new hopes of conquests. Not content with victory over a public enemy, they are beginning, once more, to fall upon unarmed and innocent individuals. About 20 persons in their vicinity have already fallen victims to their barbarity, which usually increases in proportion as opposition is either tardy or feeble. We must leave it to time to evolve the consequences, and submit to Divine Providence the control of human affairs. A full faith in the unerring wisdom, which guides a world in its revolution and notices a sparrow in its fall, will to the pious observer prove, in every event, a strong consolation.

THE END.







